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Editorial Preface

Scholars and Saints

Teachers of religion are inclined to think that because they teach about religion they understand it. Their understanding seems so superior to the uncritical views of students that the real difficulties in understanding religion often are not seen at all.

Ours is a time when the distinctly religious dimension tends to escape us. Martin Buber has written of the "eclipse of God," suggesting that in other times, in other settings for human existence, the ultimate meaning and the ultimate ground of life may have more readily disclosed themselves to men than they do in our time. Needless to say, the religious dimension is not easy to comprehend at any time. To be open to the transcendent, to know that the meaning of life arises not from how we establish ourselves in the network of physical and personal relations comprising our world, but rather from how we come to be related to what is "beyond"—this is a "limit" of human existence at any time. But in our time it is not even clear that there is such a limit. Our understanding today is so radically shaped by the structures of reality available to us that it is hard for us to be aware at all of a reality which transcends that which is available.

What is true of our culture generally is equally true of the tools of scholarly study. Modern study of religion has come into being through the use of the same tools as those employed in the study of language, history, and culture generally; in other words, tools for the study of what is human. Scholarly study has not brought about the

eclipse of the transcendent, but it fully participates in it.

It may be rejoined that the teacher of religion is more than a scholar; he is a person. As a scholar he may think that he is limited to the quest for an understanding of his subject through methods congruous with those used in other disciplines. He may treat religion as a human phenomenon. But as a teacher his personal depth of sensitivity will make itself felt, and that deeper range of meaning in religion—something that cannot be "taught"—may then be "caught" by his students. This rejoinder has real substance. Much teaching of religion that effectively communicates an awareness of the divine does so through the personal character and understanding of the teacher, rather than through the scholarly categories which he uses to explain and convey his subject matter.

Yet we cannot remain content with any such total separation of function. For one thing, the methodology of a discipline must be more integrally related to the subject's most important meanings than is the case in the scheme suggested above. Furthermore, the veiling of the transcendent in our culture is so pervasive a thing that we cannot rely, for communicating an understanding of faith, on an undirected tradition of personal character and insight. Scholarly study, even though it is involved in the "eclipse," must itself be brought to bear upon it.

The comprehension of religion that the scholar, *qua* scholar, may achieve is analogous to the understanding which a literary critic may have of creative writing. In his role of student, the interpreter of religion is

not as such a creative religious person. His purpose is sympathetic, concerned understanding. But just as students of literature have rightly dissociated themselves from purely historical and descriptive methods, insisting instead on the search for modes of criticism that will grasp literature in its own terms, so too religious scholars must be concerned to apprehend the holy and man's response to the holy in their own right and not simply as these are related to other things. Linguistic, historical, and broadly humane understandings are indispensable. But they must be used, ultimately, to point to a reality that can be grasped only by immediate awareness. Language, rite, and history of institutions must be seen and studied as forms of manifestation of the religious. Disciplined sensitivity to the holy in its own right is the central task of the student of religion.

The analogy to the literary scholar may apply further. Some critics hold that the interpreter of literature is primarily concerned to unfold the meanings of the manifold worlds of the imagination built by creative artists. Others strongly emphasize the need to form a judgment about the relation of these works of the imagination to what is real. Essential as the latter task is, it cannot be rightly undertaken apart from patient and sympathetic study of the work of art simply as an imaginative creation in its own right. So too in religious scholarship we find a tension between those who aim at sympathetic appreciation of the manifold ways in which men see and respond to what they know as holy, and those who insist that the scholar must always be concerned to disclose the "real" or the "true." In our time there is a strong and needed emphasis on the second type of scholarship. The thrust toward a more "theological" scholarship—a scholarship concerned not just to describe but also to judge and affirm—is a most welcome reminder that one cannot rightly approach an understanding of the holy in pure neutrality.

Nevertheless, the kind of religious scholarship that tries to enter sympathetically into the manifold forms of the religious life, letting these speak in their own terms, must continue to be a powerful counterweight to the interpretation which speaks directly from the standpoint of religious commitment. For one of the great contributions of the sympathetic observer's scholarship is that it can often disclose depths and powers of the religious that are not immediately evident through "our own" ways of responding to the divine.

The analogy to the study of literature may be carried one additional step. The scholar who interprets from a confessional point of view does not thereby become an authority in matters of faith any more than a critic is granted authority by virtue of adhering to a particular literary view. The critic has authority only in relation to the primary insight of the creative artist; the student of religion has authority only as he stands in relation to the primary vehicle of religious insight, the holy community or the saint. Powerful and direct confrontation with the transcendent makes saints, not scholars. The scholar has to bound and limit his dealing with the holy in order to keep his encounter within professional limits. For the sake of *understanding*, he sets a certain distance between himself and that which he encounters. He has to do so. Yet we must not confuse the awareness which results from the effort to understand with the awareness which comes from unreserved openness.

Thus the scholar of religion, who aims by intellect and imagination to "understand" the holy, is not engaged in an autonomous intellectual enterprise. At the core of his understanding is a religious awareness which, although it must be limited and circumscribed for his purposes, itself calls for an unreserved response of openness, a response which may be that of a saint or a community of faith. The scholar's understanding is intended to serve as both stimulus and correc-

tive to the immediate, unreflective awareness which is at the center of such a community's life. Leaving aside of necessity the very real problem for religious scholarship posed by differences between and within various communities of faith, we can only observe here that in this time when the divine is hidden—indeed, in large measure, from these very communities of faith—the scholar of religion is constantly tempted to magnify his type of understanding beyond its proper range. Scholars may rightly hope that their work will clear the ground for a fuller and more searching awareness of that which they study. But the necessary aspect of detachment in their work must mean that their efforts can be at best only a prologue to that unqualified encounter which the holy itself claims.

W. A. B.

"Theological Studies in College and Seminary"

Professional hauteur typically leads one journal to bury references to other journals' articles in the smaller and correspondingly safer type assigned to footnotes. However, we at *JBR* are prepared to concede that once in a great while an item appears outside these pages whose scholarly and/or provocative value warrants our calling it to the attention of our readers, and in the 10-point type ordinarily reserved for our own authors. In the instance we have in mind the

category is provocation; the source, *Theology Today* for January, 1961; the writer, Paul Ramsey of Princeton University; and the title, as quoted above. We shall not steal Mr. Ramsey's thunder by summarizing his presentation. We say simply: Read his lament over a state of affairs which, on his view, "quite prevents the attainment of real strength in theological education in this country." Then either disagree or weep.

The Editors and Mr. Fulbright

Two members of the *Journal* staff are recent recipients of Fulbright grants for study abroad. Harry M. Buck, Jr., Managing Editor, has spent the past Summer attending an institute on Indian Civilization at Osmania University in Hyderabad. William A. Beardslee, Associate Editor, is, as noted on our masthead, on leave for the current academic year as Fulbright Research Scholar in New Testament at the University of Bonn, Germany.

An Announcement

The next Congress of the International Organization for the Study of the Old Testament will be held August 26-31, 1962 in Bonn, Germany. The address of the President of the Congress, Professor Martin Noth, is Lennéstrasse 24, Bonn, West Germany.

The Journal of Bible and Religion solicits letters for publication responding to judgments contained in editorials, articles, and reviews.

THE EDITORS

Recent Roman Catholic Bible Study and Translation

C. UMHAU WOLF

ROMAN Catholic scholars have been only recently encouraged to pursue thorough study and research in biblical criticism and biblical theology. They have always worked freely and well in archaeology, philology, and textual studies. Often the Council of Trent was too strictly interpreted in reaction to the rationalism, liberalism and modernism of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Such an interpretation of the Tridentine decrees gave many Roman Catholics, clergy and laity alike, the "conviction that all heresy comes from reading of the Bible."¹ Catholics are willing to admit this erstwhile and serious failing, and in the past two decades have been trying to make up for the loss with all deliberate speed.

The New Criticism

Since 1943, when Pope Pius XII issued the encyclical *Divino Afflante Spiritu*, all the techniques of modern criticism have been employed freely. By encouraging the use of archaeology, philology, *Formgeschichte*, and the study of Near Eastern history and culture, the Pope in the sixty-three paragraphs of the encyclical repudiated any sort of Roman Catholic fundamentalism. Although with the exception of Lagrange and some other Dominicans there was little anticipation of this new approach,² the encyclical was not issued in a vacuum. Leo XIII in *Providentissimus Deus* (1893) had already identified

the proper study of Scripture and urged the use of Oriental languages and history. In 1902 he authorized the Pontifical Biblical Commission. Pius X issued two letters on the teaching of the Bible and in 1909 established the Pontifical Institute for Biblical Studies. In 1914 the same Pope granted special indulgences to organizations formed to promote the reading of the Gospels. In *Spiritus Paraclitus*, Benedict XV emphasized the inspiration and inerrancy of Scripture. He also anticipated slightly Pius XII in making literal meaning primary.³ But the real watershed remains 1943. With some irony, Charlier notes that with one sweep *Divino Afflante Spiritu* condemns nearly all the books on the Bible produced in the preceding fifty years, for they failed to take the biblical writers' mentality and culture into consideration.⁴

A great forward spurt resulted and many critical positions which had been debated in Protestantism became accepted in Roman Catholic circles. Scholars were and still are encouraged to read and study Protestant works. In the *Catholic Biblical Quarterly* the number of Protestant works reviewed is astonishing, and frequently the articles reveal great dependency upon Protestant scholarship. Several of the volumes in the new *Twentieth Century Catholic Encyclopaedia* list more Protestant volumes than Roman Catholic in their bibliographies. It is clear that many Protestant Old Testament and New Testament scholars are held in high regard by Roman Catholics. Perhaps this is an outgrowth of the ecumenical movement, which discloses to the acute students that Catholic theology is becoming more biblical and Protestant exegesis more theological. In fact, in 1953 the French Jesuit Daniélou

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wrote an analysis entitled "Holy Scripture: Meeting Place of Christians,"⁵ the very title of which sets the theme and tone of the present article.

It is almost impossible to keep up with the pace of Roman Catholic biblical publications.⁶ The summaries in *New Testament Abstracts* and *Theology Digest* as well as the reviews in *Theological Studies* and the *Catholic Biblical Quarterly* keep the scholar busy. The newest addition to the ever-growing list of aids for Catholic Bible teachers is *Current Scripture Notes*. In other languages the publication rate is even greater than in English. The many periodicals devoted to the study of Scripture include *Biblica*, *Revue Biblique*, *Biblische Zeitschrift*, *Verbum Domini*, *Rivista Biblica*, and *Cultura Biblica*. More than two hundred books on the Bible were published by Catholics in France alone in the one year 1954.⁷ Many of the more popular periodicals have biblical articles, sections devoted to Scripture, and various pericope suggestions.

Of further significance is the renewed emphasis on lay study of the Bible. The Benedictines of Collegeville, Minnesota, have provided a pocket New Testament commentary. More than a dozen fine introductions and commentaries have already been published in the Paulists' *Pamphlet Bible* series. The Archdiocese of Chicago is in the process of publishing in four volumes *A Guide To Reading the Bible*. Several lucid volumes on Scripture and related subjects have appeared in the *Twentieth Century Catholic Encyclopedia*. The number of new Bible translations (to be briefly discussed at the close of this article) is the capstone to this new interest in Scripture. Surely Charlier is correct in the following judgment: "The Sacrament of Holy Writ is being restored to its place with the other Sacrament, that of the Body of Christ, the Eucharist. The restoration of Scripture in its essential function at the heart of our spiritual lives and of our actions as Catholics is a great event."⁸

To many Protestants, the Pontifical Bib-

lical Commission (formally founded in 1908) appears to be a halter or fence for the Spirit and the Word. But the decisions it makes are few, and, according to present-day Roman Catholic scholars, are not to be considered infallible. These decisions may be found in *Rome and the Study of the Scriptures*. Even these few are subject to interpretation and are not regarded as definitions. No definitive decree fixing the authorship of any biblical book has been issued. The decrees were "not meant to remove the question from all further research and debate."⁹ Nevertheless, there is still control. Thus, the very fine *Introduction à la Bible* of Robert and Feuillet published in 1957 has been pronounced unsuitable for use in seminaries, although it is not prohibited to advanced scholars.¹⁰

One example of this process of re-interpretation of a decree will suffice. The Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch was proclaimed on June 27, 1906. Heinisch in his *History of the Old Testament* follows this carefully: "Moses was responsible for the organization of the material and literary composition" of Genesis (p. 25). Yet even he interprets philosophically the "substantially" of the decree, and adds, "We have a Mosaic Pentateuch, but not one which was wholly composed by Moses or one which was merely edited by him" (p. 110). Steinmann, with most Catholic scholars and many a Protestant, declares that the Pentateuch is more a collection of traditions than a literary production, and that it is anachronistic for anyone to find Mosaic worship in Leviticus.¹¹ Albright's pupil Morarty prefers the deuteronomistic view of the histories to a Hexapla.¹² Charlier sees the Pentateuch as developing in all stages of Israel's history: Deuteronomy from the seventh century B.C., Leviticus to the time of Ezra. He then declares categorically: "The Mosaic origin of the Pentateuch is not a matter of faith."¹³ The Chicago *Guide* notes that chapters 1-12 of Genesis took over twelve hundred years to reach their present form

and were first written down in the eighth century B.C.¹⁴

The same freedom can be seen with respect to the problem of authorship in Paul, Isaiah, and the pseudonymity of the Megilloth. In the exegesis of individual passages there is great latitude. It has been estimated that less than twenty texts of Scripture have been authoritatively interpreted by the Roman Catholic Church. "Very few texts have their meaning authoritatively declared by the Church, so the scholar has great freedom, and need not be bound by pseudo-tradition."¹⁵ In fact, there is more leeway here than in many Protestant denominations. No objection is forthcoming, once proper study of literary types is made, to fiction, fables, allegories, parables, or myths in the Bible.¹⁶ Oriental imagery and Near Eastern culture are often used to interpret Genesis 1-3, Jonah, and Canticles. Even the stopping of the sun by Joshua is called "eastern hyperbole."¹⁷ Some Catholic scholars allow the voice at the Baptism, the angels at the annunciations, and the devil at the Temptation to be examples of the exteriorization of interior experiences, while others suggest more literal and external interpretations.¹⁸ Many Protestants "may be surprised to learn how much freedom of opinion the Church wishes her members to enjoy."¹⁹

The "Senses" of Scripture and the Problem of Tradition

In broader perspective this freedom and variety are evidenced in the discussion, really an active debate, over the true meaning of Scripture, often labelled "senses." Before 1943 most Catholic scholars agreed with the ancient Church Fathers, especially Origen, that there were three, if not four, senses of Scripture. But *Divino Afflante Spiritu*, paragraphs 35-38, was quite candid and final: It is the duty of the scholar to find the literal meaning of Scripture, although many disciplines are to be used to seek that meaning out. The debate involves also the related

subjects of tradition and inspiration, as the titles of some of the articles indicate.²⁰

Is it possible that God (the real author of the Bible) intended a text to have a meaning that the human author (or instrument) did not recognize or even understand? "Yes" is the answer of Fernandez, Brown, Sutcliffe and others. "No" is the answer of Bierberg, Arana, Spicq and others. McKenzie seems to say both "yes" and "no." To him, "fuller literal meaning" is a contradiction in terms and the exegete should drop it.²¹ Gibling suggests that perhaps the problem can be solved by departmentalizing it: the literary critic must seek the literal sense; the theologian, the fuller sense.²²

Obviously, much of this discussion bogs down in semantics. And in the realm of translation the confusion is twice compounded (and confounded). Many see "spiritual" and "plenior" senses as identical, yet Catholic exegetes reject any such thing as spiritual exegesis. Charlier even says that such a method is "nonsense."²³ He would hardly be saying that the Pope's encyclical is nonsense! But it is, of course, this fuller, plenior, spiritual or theological sense which finds the Immaculate Conception in Genesis 3:15ff., the Trinity in the first verses of Genesis, the Virgin Birth in Isaiah 7:14, etc. Nor are Protestants without their spiritual exegesis.

There is a revival of typological study of the Old Testament, especially in the liturgical reform.²⁴ Those who hold to the typological interpretation also emphasize the presence of oral tradition both before and after the written texts. One cannot but wonder if there is not a subconscious attraction to oral tradition as a possible continuum with the modern magisterium of the Church. One can hardly object to the following: "Reinterpretation, or Israel's re-thinking of her history and institutions as well as of God's written word in an effort to link them ever more fully and closely with the God of revelation as He gradually manifested Himself more completely, is a definitely recog-

nizable phenomenon of Old Testament religion."²⁵ So also in the New Testament and therefore in the Church Fathers, the magisterium, and the Church's liturgy.

Protestant scholars (especially non-biblical theologians) oversimplify the Roman Catholic position on tradition. In referring to polemical and apologetical writings, they set up a dichotomy of Bible-versus-Tradition. Melancthon and most Protestants tend to separate Bible from Church or Church Tradition. The Council of Trent, however, deliberately omitted an article which would have placed truth partly in Scripture and partly in the Apostolic Tradition.²⁶ The Roman position is by no means so simple as that expressed by an earlier survey: "The place of tradition involves that Scripture as a norm is superseded and replaced."²⁷ In all honesty we have to say that it was probably the Protestant emphasis on "Bible alone" which led Catholics to an exaggerated reaction and to an emphasis upon the inspired Tradition.²⁸ Unfortunately, Van de Pol's *The Christian Dilemma* (1952) does not alleviate the Protestant misunderstanding, but aids and abets it. The recent book by Tavard, *Holy Writ or Holy Church* (1959), summarizes the history of this continuing debate. Without too much documentation and with some oversimplification it can be said that almost every possible relationship between Scripture and Tradition has been and is held by Catholics.²⁹

There is great interest among Catholics in Cullmann and Bultmann.³⁰ Perhaps Bultmann and those who despair of the historical sense of the New Testament are more Roman than the Roman Catholics in saying that only the faith of the primitive church can be disclosed by biblical science. Daniélou discusses item by item, mostly with approval, the "Principles for Interpreting the Bible" published by the World Council of Churches in 1949, and notes that they may offer a possible solution to the dilemma of the ecumenical church.³¹ Perhaps the time is ripe for the

World Council of Churches and the coming Second Vatican Council, as well as local groups, to re-assess the real meaning of "Scripture alone." These two words need to be weighed again by both Protestant and Catholic. "It is the Bible and nothing but the Bible; but it is the whole Bible, not in its letters only, but with the Spirit which dictated it and which does not cease to inspire the reading of it."³² Or more simply: "The Church prolongs the mystery of Scripture in the mystery of her own being. Fundamentally, that is what she means by tradition."³³

The previously considered problems of "senses" and tradition have one thing in common: the assumption that there is an explicit and an implicit meaning in Scripture. The literalist, both Catholic and Protestant, accepts only the explicit sense of Scripture. Yet, many theologians of both camps will, with scholastic reasoning, find that many doctrines are implicit in the Bible.³⁴ In so doing, the Protestant has granted the first premise of the traditionalists. "Revelation cannot be added to, but that does not mean it is dead."³⁵ Is this an error, a heresy, or is it the beginning of a bridge through the work of the Holy Spirit, which both sides confess to be the real interpreter?

Inspiration and Inerrancy

The most ardent and prolific debate among Catholic scholars during the past several decades has been that of inspiration and inerrancy. An excellent survey appears in *Theology Digest* (Winter, 1960). The most thorough study is in Levie, *La Bible: Parole Humaine et Message de Dieu* (1958). A simple survey was presented to the Catholic Theological Society in 1958.³⁶

There is general recognition, which the Protestant will also accept, that inspiration and canonicity are genuinely representative of divine Providence. Similarly, both Catholics and Protestants agree that revelation and inspiration are somehow related, even though they must be distinguished. Inspira-

tion is also related to prophetic charisma and to divine grace. Their mutual problems and their related theologies draw Christians together. This is epitomized in the title of Jones' article: "Biblical Inspiration: A Christian Rendezvous."³⁷

"The doctrine of Inspiration is one that matured extremely slowly in the mind of the Church. . . . Since the Reformers did not question it, Trent did not discuss it."³⁸ One of the best definitions is that by a layman for laymen: "Inspiration is seen to be a divine operation, a sort of grace which permeates the sacred writer's being, illumines and guides him, helps him throughout his mental work, from the impulse to write the original idea, to the literary execution and sometimes even the formal expression, but leaves scope for the reaction of the writer's personality on the work."³⁹

From apostolic times to Pius XII men have been called the instruments of God, with the Holy Spirit the real author of their work. Who were these human instruments and how were they affected? "Here are seventy books in search of authors."⁴⁰ Many Catholics do not attempt to assign one particular human author for each book. There is therefore interest in the ideas of Engnell's "School of Isaiah" and of Stendahl's "School of Matthew." All the human agents or instruments are regarded as inspired, not just the original writer or the final editor. The question is raised of whether late additions can be inspired. What may be said of the ending of Mark, the pericope of the adulterous woman? Are there inspired books which failed to gain a place in the canon?⁴¹

The human instrument remains human despite the use of such analogies as "dictation" or even "pen in hand." Even the word "instrument" is objected to since it is a non-anthropomorphic term and hence its use becomes almost as mechanical as the dictation theory.⁴² There are many varied opinions on this subject. Such scholars as Benoit, Rahmer, Stanley, Levie, Coppens, MacKenzie,

and McKenzie simply cannot be lumped together. Obviously, much work is still to be done in Catholic circles on the problem of inspiration.

All the relevant papal encyclicals insist on inerrancy. The latest, *Humani Generis* (1950), reasserted this. Benoit declares, "The charisma of inspiration is necessarily accompanied by the privilege of inerrancy."⁴³ But inerrancy is not the only purpose of inspiration or its only consequence. "Inspiration does not preserve the author of Leviticus from being the most boring of lawyers, the compilers of Chronicles from being totally devoid of talent, or the author of Apocalypse from making many syntactical mistakes in the Greek."⁴⁴ It is clear that the Bible teaches no science, no philosophy, no history, and no theology in the technical sense.⁴⁵ Since the catholicization of *Formgeschichte*, it has become a truism to say, "Each genre of literature has its type of truth."⁴⁶ The study of Near Eastern culture and literature has brought new insight into the nature of truth. The debate on "senses" enters into this discussion, so that the truth of a passage depends upon the purpose of the author (whether God or the human instrument). "Error is present only when an author makes a deliberate judgment which is at variance with that reality which he means to express. . . . The errors we find in the Bible are of our own construction. We have either misunderstood what it says, or forced it to say what it does not intend to say."⁴⁷ Such a concept of inerrancy, however, is not limited to faith and morals.

It is clear that the problem of hermeneutics is widespread throughout the Christian world. The dictum of Jerome to the effect that the task of an exegete is to describe and to expose what Scripture says, rather than what the commentator thinks, is still acceptable to most Catholic and Protestant scholars.⁴⁸ Philbin notes the problem of the *religionsgeschichtliche* school, which often minimized the originality of Jesus, and he is

somewhat disturbed over the excessive skepticism concerning the original texts of *Formgeschichte*. Yet this is not only a Protestant problem.⁴⁹ Both Protestants and Catholics have stimulated one another. As we have already indicated, Protestant scholars are quoted frequently in the works of Catholic biblical scholars. In the Old Testament field there are references to such familiar figures as Albright, Alt, Gunkel, Hempel, Bright, Noth, Oesterley, Rowley, Wheeler Robinson, Mowinckel, Pedersen, and Bentzen. In the New Testament field we find many allusions to Bultmann, Cullmann, Brunner, C. H. Dodd, Manson, Fridrichsen, Reicke, Kittel, Stendahl, Vincent Taylor, Jeremias, and others. In fact, these Protestants are given much credit for the present pace of Catholic study. That study has been "greatly aided . . . by stimulating communication with non-Catholic biblical scholars of learning and integrity."⁵⁰

In the same manner, many Protestants are discovering anew the current of Catholic biblical study. In a *Journal of Biblical Literature* review of McKenzie's *Two-Edged Sword*, G. Ernest Wright notes that he would not hesitate to use that study with his students.⁵¹ The same could be said of Moriarty's *Introducing the Old Testament*. The writings of Daniel-Rops have been frequently used in Protestant seminaries. There is nothing better on Genesis for laymen than Vawter's *A Path Through Genesis*. Nor should the Protestant neglect Bouyer's *The Meaning of Sacred Scripture*.

Brunner has made a considerable impact on Roman Catholicism, even though Barth has been more recently studied from the theological point of view in the context of the ecumenical movement. Since the Bible is a living Word, it therefore brings man into an encounter with God. While such encounter or impact "may be effective or ineffective, it cannot be true or false."⁵² However, many Catholics, though praising Barth, are afraid of his incipient anti-intellectualism.

Thus, "we must not cut off man's head to save his heart."⁵³ At this point even some Roman Catholic scholars come close to Luther's so-called "subjective heresy"; they see Christ as the only truth to be conveyed, the only Word to be interpreted. Cullmann's *Christology of the New Testament* has received almost rave reviews from Catholics. Yet Spicq warns against reducing all questions to Christology.⁵⁴

The unity of the Old and New Testaments and the concept of progressive revelation are also frequently debated. Many conservative Catholic exegetes have been like Protestants, i.e., incipient Marcionites, in allowing a false dichotomy between Old Testament law and New Testament love. The *Chicago Guide* includes in every lesson New Testament allusions and Old Testament quotations on the basis of the Augustinian formula and the analogy of Scripture.⁵⁵ De Vaux goes so far as to say, "For the Christian there is no theology of the Old Testament distinct from the theology of the New Testament. There is just one theology of the Bible."⁵⁶ Perhaps the best discussion of the relation between the Testaments is *Prophecy Fulfilled* (1958) by Aigrain and Engelbert. On the basis of Pius XI's encyclical on unity (1937), they conclude: "The closest link unites the New Testament with the Old. For from Genesis to Apocalypse it is the same Spirit that inspired the divine message, that is embodied in the pages of the Bible and gives them life. To lose sight of this spiritual unity of the Bible is a grave mistake and hinders our understanding of Scripture."⁵⁷ A few would rather study the theology of each biblical writer, as Spicq does so well in his *Agapè dans Nouveau Testament*.

Even those who oppose the trend toward unity speak without trembling of "progressive revelation." Charlier says, "Truth is evolutionary. . . . Revelation was progressive. We must not expect the same degree of precision in the early stages of formation that we find later."⁵⁸ Daniel-Rops makes

clear for the layman that "progressive enlightenment, with a full revelation at the end of it, enables us to resolve the contradictions which would otherwise give scandal."⁵⁹

Recent Vernacular Translations

After all this consideration of unresolved problems, it is a relief to turn to the more recent vernacular Bible translations. English-speaking Catholics have long had available the Rheims-Douay Version and the revision by Challoner. These never were popular and were not promoted by the hierarchy. But because of the Tridentine decrees, before 1943 the Vulgate was the primary source of all vernacular translations. Yet even the text of the Vulgate was not as critically studied in Catholic circles as the Hebrew and Greek texts. It is the present consensus of the Catholic Church that the Vulgate was not an inspired translation.⁶⁰ There is still debate concerning the inspiration of various vernacular translations. But the encyclical of 1943, paragraphs 14-22, encouraged full and ready recourse to the original languages and in addition greatly liberalized the interpretations of Trent. Since that time there have been new translations from the original texts into French, Dutch, Italian, Spanish, English, etc.⁶¹ The liturgical movement carries forward this vernacular trend. "We would see a Bible in every home, a Bible which is read regularly and which has a real bearing upon the life of those who use it."⁶²

Ronald Knox began his work of translation before the encyclical of 1943. His New Testament was approved by English Catholics in 1944 and the entire translation was granted the imprimatur in 1954. "Knox has much to recommend it, but it also is from the Vulgate."⁶³ However, in his footnotes Knox has made reference to Hebrew and also to the Greek of both the Septuagint and the New Testament. He is quite willing to translate everything, but is honest enough to note "Hebrew obscure" when he is only

guessing. This is a beautiful, readable version that can be used with profit.

The influence of papal pronouncements is dramatically seen in the Confraternity Edition. As a literal translation it is on the whole superior to Knox, but not in beauty of language. The New Testament appeared in 1941. It was a revision of Challoner by twenty-seven American scholars using the best Vulgate texts available. "Where the Latin text differs from the Greek in such a way as to affect the meaning, attention is called to the fact in the footnotes. . . . In no case has the Latin text been set aside in favor of the Greek."⁶⁴ The introductions to each book are quite traditional and conservative. However, as noted above, in 1943 came the papal encyclical urging application to the original languages. The Preface of Volume I of the Confraternity Edition of the Old Testament emphasizes that this is an entirely new translation from the original languages. In Volume II the original Hebrew or Aramaic is used except for the Psalms where the Latin Vulgate remains due to liturgical influence. The honesty of the translators extends even to the use of blanks where the Hebrew is untranslatable as in Job 20:28, 24:19, 21, etc. There is no evidence anywhere in this translation that it has been influenced by dogmatic considerations. The introductions to the books are far from traditional concerning authorship and date.

The Jerusalem Bible was produced largely by the Dominican School in Jordan and will remain a monument of modern Catholic biblical scholarship. It is translated from the original languages and has appeared in two forms, a large commentary-type series and a very handy pocket edition. The difficulties of translation are left for the reader to solve by giving in full the versions of the Septuagint, Vulgate and Peschitta in the notes, as in Job 19:23f. Although the introductions are in the liberal vein, all Catholics may be justifiably proud of this edition.

A most daring suggestion was made in

1959. It was urged that American Catholics adopt the Revised Standard Version.⁶⁵ That this was not just surface ecumenical talk is seen from several disparate facts. The English Revision Committee under the late Cardinal Griffin had quite early considered this possibility. That committee as well as the Confraternity committee used many of the study notes of the RSV committee. Also, many Catholic scholars in their introductions and biblical theologies are using the Hebrew-Protestant division of the books instead of the Vulgate tradition, e.g., I and II Samuel, I and II Kings instead of I, II, III, and IV Kingdoms. The simpler form of I and II Chronicles is obviously preferred. Further, in this country the transliteration of names is becoming more and more the same in Protestant and Catholic circles, e.g., Hosea for Osee and Ezra for Esdras.⁶⁶ Recently, American reviews have chided authors and presses for continuing the archaic Latinisms. In addition, McKenzie's *Two-Edged Sword* uses the American Translation (Smith and Goodspeed) whenever an original translation is not made.⁶⁷

Doubleday Anchor Books has announced the forthcoming publication of a Bible for public schools in some thirty volumes and involving the cooperation of Catholics, Protestants, and Jews.⁶⁸ This will surely lessen the divisiveness that is so often fostered by the terms "your Bible" and "my Bible," and it points to the fact that Holy Scripture can be truly the meeting place of Christians. It is a Christian rendezvous, as Daniélou and Jones have emphasized.

Catholics and Protestants have long worked together in the Textual Criticism Seminar. More and more Catholics attend as members the national meetings of the Society of Biblical Literature and Exegesis. In the Fall of 1960 the first Catholic member was accepted by the Chicago Society of Biblical Research after some seventy years of that organization's existence.

The Pope has spoken: Priests are bound by their office to

assiduously distribute the heavenly treasures of the divine Word by sermons, homilies, and exhortations. . . . Bishops . . . should laudably strive to excite and foster among Catholics a greater knowledge of and love for the Sacred Books. Let them favor therefore and lend help to those pious associations whose aim it is to spread copies of the Sacred Letters, especially of the Gospels, among the faithful, and to procure by every means that in Christian families the same be read daily with piety and devotion; let them efficaciously recommend by word and example, whenever the liturgical laws permit, the Sacred Scriptures translated, with approval of the Ecclesiastical authority, into modern languages; let them themselves give public conferences or dissertations on biblical subjects.⁶⁹

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⁶ A good survey of the last three years is by Ignatius Hunt, "Trends in Biblical Study," *American Benedictine Review*, XI, 3-4 (Sept.-Dec., 1960), 280 ff.

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¹⁷ Daniel-Rops, *op. cit.*, p. 52, n. 1.

¹⁸ Gleason, *op. cit.*, p. 301.

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²⁴ Jean Daniélou, *The Bible and the Liturgy*, South Bend, Ind.: University of Notre Dame, 1956 (from French ed. of 1951).

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²⁶ Yves Congar, "Holy Writ and Holy Church," *Blackfriars*, XLI, 479 (Feb., 1960), 11. Cf. George Tavard, *Holy Writ or Holy Church: The Crisis of the Protestant Reformation*, New York: Harper & Bros., 1959.

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³⁰ Alex Jones, "Biblical Inspiration: A Christian Rendezvous," *Scripture*, X (1959), 97 ff. Abstract in *Theology Digest*, VIII, 1 (Winter, 1960), 13 f. and in *New Testament Abstracts*, IV, 4 (Winter, 1959), 123. Cf. Charlier, *op. cit.*, p. 238.

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³⁷ Cf. note 30 above.

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The Unity of Scripture and the Post-Exilic Literature

LIONEL A. WHISTON, JR.

IT is now generally accepted that there is a pattern to biblical faith, a pattern which makes possible the claim that the Bible possesses a fundamental inner unity. There is little or no difficulty in our accepting the major proposition of the *heilsge-schichtliche* approach to Scripture. The Bible is basically a confessional literature which finds its unity in its witness to the great actions of God. However, it is necessary to add that we must not lose sight of the corresponding responses of man.

I

The crucial actions of God are three in number. Corresponding to them we have, in rough approximation, the pre-exilic literature, the exilic and post-exilic literature, and the New Testament. These actions of God can be described by a cautious typological use of the Exodus Event. A fundamental unity of Scripture is thereby revealed.

These crucial actions may be described as follows: In the fullness of God's time, God sent a saviour, Moses, to his Chosen People, Israel, to deliver them from bondage in Egypt. Through this saviour, God brought his people out of Egypt. He established his Covenant with them and brought them safely through many trials into the Promised Land. This is the Exodus faith of the pre-exilic period.

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During the Exile and notably in Second Isaiah, one finds the Exodus faith restated. Again, in the fullness of God's time, he sends a saviour, Cyrus, through whom he is about to bring his people out of bondage (the Babylonian Exile); he will renew the Covenant which they have broken and will bring them in triumph to the Promised Land. So great will be this deliverance that all nations shall see the mighty actions of God in behalf of his Chosen People. The nations shall turn to the God of Israel and recognize his sovereignty.

The New Testament interprets the purposes of God as being unfulfilled in the Old Testament. Accordingly, in the fullness of his time, God once again sends a Saviour, Jesus Christ, to his Chosen People, the New Israel of the church, to deliver them out of bondage to sin and fear of death. Through his Saviour, Jesus Christ, he brings them out of the power of sin and death; he establishes with them the New Covenant; and he brings them and will continue to bring them through many trials into the Promised Land of God, the New Age.

Each of these crucial actions receives a characteristic response from the Chosen People involved. To the original Exodus Covenant, Israel responds by rebellion. This constitutes the fundamental indictment of pre-exilic Israel. The second response is often described as follows: To God's gracious renewal of the Covenant in the exilic and post-exilic period, the Chosen People respond in loyal obedience, that is, in terms of legalism. This second response, however it be described, is inadequate and God acts again in Christ. Here the response of his people is made, despite continuing falls from grace,

through the life of loyal love lived within the church. Thus the three crucial actions of God are balanced by three equally crucial responses of man.¹

Against this perspective a number of criticisms have been raised. Recently it has been described as a "party-line theology."² Either a man must adhere to it and to all its accrued propositions in other areas, or else he is not "in" with respect to scholarly and ecclesiastical circles alike. Further, the very popularity of this view has made it possible to make sweeping, although traditional, generalizations with little fear of contradiction—the kind of statements which ought not to be made without painstaking linguistic, critical and historical work. Consequently, it has been alleged that confessional prejudgments have replaced scholarship and that the scheme is too neat.

To such comments the simplest reply is to admit unhesitatingly that this perspective is, after all, only a scheme, and as such it must be subjected to careful scrutiny. The most that it can claim is that the Bible includes the view that human experience comprises certain initiating actions of God and certain corresponding responses of man, and that there is in general a movement of history from rebellion through lawful obedience to the New Testament church.

The major criticism, and the one most relevant to the present discussion, is that our outline does not make provision for the Wisdom Literature: Job, Proverbs, and Ecclesiastes. This literature is certainly the most difficult to interpret in terms of the actions of God, but the problem transcends the Wisdom Literature alone. It extends to the entire post-exilic literature in its remarkable diversity, including such elements as the new focus and ultimate disappearance of prophecy, the growth of apocalyptic, and the presence of such books as Canticles and Esther in the canon. When we add to these the Priestly writings and the Chronicler, we see at once, so it is alleged, how inadequate is

our description of the second crucial response of the Chosen People, the response of loyalty through obedience to law.

The issue of the diversity of the post-exilic literature is central to the problem before us: "To select certain portions of the Old Testament and to reject others is to make the anthologist the inspired voice of God. . . . It is plain that the 'authority' of the anthologist has no finality, since the choice of one generation will not necessarily be that of the next."³ These words of Wheeler Robinson suggest that current biblical theology will be as dated for future generations as the hermeneutical methods of previous ages are for our generation. To a degree this is inevitable. A complicating factor is that the riches of the biblical revelation are so vast that any one culture or any one period can assimilate only those facets which are most relevant to its own cultural milieu or crisis situation. In any case, it is still worth the attempt to state as soundly as possible the current position of biblical theology so that it can make its own contribution to the history of biblical interpretation.

II

It must be granted that any description of the unity of Scripture is most vulnerable where it seeks to incorporate the post-exilic literature. Some interpreters try, in effect, to escape the problem by lumping the books involved under the heading "legalistic," thus ignoring their diversity. As against this tendency, a number of more positive solutions have been proposed.⁴ They cannot be described as erroneous, but none of them is fully adequate.

Is there not some lever with the aid of which the post-exilic literature can be grasped and brought within the main orbit of biblical thought and its development? I call attention to four factors which are frequently overlooked.

1. *The existence of prudential ethics from the beginnings of Israel's faith.* The older

criticism may have erred by making the Old Testament too primitive a document, but the new criticism may err equally in making it too sophisticated and "Christian" a literature.

Currently, Abraham is held up as the ideal of faith, and less tidy episodes in his life are described as lapses of faith. The truth is that on one occasion at least, in the J account of Abraham's encounter with Pharaoh in Egypt (Gen. 12:10-13:1), Abraham's tactics seem to meet with the approval of God as well as that of the J writer. So far as J is concerned (the variant by which E tells the story of Abimelech [Gen. 20] is a somewhat different matter), Abraham conducts a masterly piece of evasive strategy which results, with the partnership of God, in a highly profitable business enterprise. Similarly, the whole tone of the Jacob narrative seems to imply that this Jacob is a shrewd one. On occasion he or his sons may go too far, but basically his way of life does not meet with divine disapproval. Many elements of the Joseph story are in the same vein. For example, J describes Joseph's administration in which

Joseph bought all the land of Egypt for Pharaoh; for all the Egyptians sold their fields, because the famine was severe upon them. The land became Pharaoh's; and as for the people, he made slaves of them from one end of Egypt to the other. . . . So Joseph made it a statute concerning the land of Egypt, and it stands to this day, that Pharaoh should have the fifth . . . (Gen. 47:20-21, 26).

Here and elsewhere, to say "God was with him" is practically the same as saying, "He succeeded in business." (See Gen. 39:2. Tyndale translates: "And the Lord was with Joseph and he was a lucky fellow.")

One's point of view will determine his interpretation of the holy wars of Israel. From the standpoint of wilderness nomads, the conquest of Canaan was a mighty act of God revealing him as faithful to his promises to his Chosen People. So also with the wars of the kings of Judah and Israel. But passages such as Deut. 7:1-5, which describe God as

warring on behalf of Israel and exterminating her enemies, would appear in a quite different light to the victims—and to students in twentieth-century classrooms. As for Solomon, his reign and "wisdom" have been sufficiently described and evaluated on other occasions and hence need no further comment here.⁵

We may conclude that prudential wisdom and ethics are not the peculiar possession of "wise men" alone; they pervade Israel's faith from its very inception. The Chosen People expected tangible rewards and possessions from their God. So long as their history permitted the hope of political power, this trust in tangible things was not disastrous. But once this people is placed in a situation of poverty, with little or no possibility of, or hope for, earthly glory, any such trust will seem empty indeed.

2. *The emergence (even before the Exile) of a climate of doubt and questioning concerning the ways of God.* The covenant faith originated in the great Exodus experience of a trustworthy God and it was in an attitude of trust that Israel confronted its God in the pre-exilic period. Thus, when the prophets of the ninth and eighth centuries saw God's imminent judgment coming upon Israel, they accepted the verdict without question. Although they would on occasion intercede in Israel's behalf (e.g., Amos 7:1-6; Jer. 7:16), they accepted unquestioningly the divine imperative to proclaim God's judgment on his people.

It is after the Deuteronomic Reform that doubts begin to appear. Jeremiah does not preach the Word of Yahweh with the same trustful acceptance shown by Amos and Isaiah. Where his predecessors accepted the content of their message and were apparently unmoved in its delivery, Jeremiah writhes in anguish (4:19). When he sees his own mission a failure and is himself a victim of persecution and even of determined attempts upon his life, he turns upon God: "Wilt thou be to me like a deceitful brook, like

waters that fail?" (15:18) "O Lord, thou hast enticed me and I was enticed" (20:7). Here the integrity of God is challenged. These passages may reveal a remarkable emergence of the role of the individual in religious experience, but they also reveal a decline of trust.

The Book of Habakkuk contains similar elements. Habakkuk sees the plight of the needy before the injustice of the rich, and he cries unto God. He is given the same message that Amos had earlier received, namely that God is sending judgment upon his sinful people. But this answer will not satisfy, and he objects:

Thou art of purer eyes than to behold evil
and canst not look upon wrong,
why dost thou look on faithless men,
and art silent when the wicked swallows up
the man more righteous than he? (Hab. 1:13).

Whereupon the prophet refuses to rest until God has given him reply:

I will take my stand to watch
and station myself on the tower,
and look forth to see what he will say to me,
and what I will answer concerning my complaint
(2:1).

This illuminates the context within which Second Isaiah is written. Here were exiles who had been living in Babylon for a generation or longer. Without hesitation they accepted the exile of their fathers as a just verdict for sin. But now a new generation had come into being. Where was this God who had chosen his people? What of his creative power? What of the Exodus, now an ancient thing? Why had Israel received from the Lord's hand double for all her sins? The old answer, "You are suffering the judgment of God because you broke the Covenant," was no longer valid. It is to these questions that Second Isaiah is addressed.

3. *The intense nationalism of Second Isaiah which created in the minds of the returned exiles and the worshippers of*

Yahweh already in Judah a climate of expectation of mighty empire. The intense nationalism of Second Isaiah is also frequently overlooked. It expresses itself in the belief that God will restore Israel in a new kingdom on a much vaster scale than ever before. The prosperity that prudential wisdom offers to the individual, this great poet of the Exile promises to the nation.

The greatest of the "Servant Songs" (Isa. 52:13-53:12) is our point of departure. The song opens in clear unequivocal language:

Behold, my servant shall prosper,
he shall be exalted and lifted up,
and shall be very high (Isa. 52:13).

One may argue here that *yashkil* is an ambiguous word implying variously "to act with insight, piously" (Koehler-Baumgartner), "to deal wisely" (ARV), or "to prosper" (ARV margin and RSV text). Inasmuch as the parallels to this line are "be exalted and lifted up" and "be very high," poetic parallelism implies that the meaning "prosper" is probably closest to the author's intent. It also suggests that in the prudential nature of Israel's thought, "to be wise," "to be pious," and "to prosper" are much akin.

A mighty destiny is in store for this exiled people. (There is no doubt that the Servant is Israel: the identification made in Isa. 44:1, 21, is too specific in its reference for any other conclusion, as are the other references to Israel/Jacob throughout Second Isaiah.) This mighty destiny is incredible and unheard of to the kings and nations of the world (Isa. 52:14-53:1). Yet not only shall the Servant survive the death of exile; he shall "see his offspring" and God will give him "a portion with the great, and he shall divide the spoil with the strong" (Isa. 53:10-12). Such destiny is far from that in store for the meek and mild; it is closely related to ordinary military victory.

This kind of picture is portrayed throughout Second Isaiah:

Behold all who are incensed against you
 shall be put to shame and confounded;
 those who strive against you
 shall be as nothing and shall perish (Isa. 41:11;
 cf. vss. 12-13).

The implication of

I give Egypt as your ransom,
 Ethiopia and Seba in exchange for you (43:3;
 cf. vss. 1-7),

is that the deliverance of Israel will be accomplished by a mighty destruction of nations. The following passages are of additional relevance:

In the Lord all the offspring of Israel
 shall triumph and glory (45:25; cf. vss. 18-24).

Thus says the Lord,
 the Redeemer of Israel and his Holy One,
 to one deeply despised, abhorred by the nations,
 the servant of rulers:
 "Kings shall see and arise;
 princes, and they shall prostrate themselves;
 because of the Lord who is faithful,
 the Holy One of Israel, who has chosen you"
 (49:7).

Kings shall be your foster fathers,
 and their queens your nursing mothers.
 With their faces to the ground they shall bow
 down to you,
 and lick the dust of your feet.
 Then you will know that I am the Lord;
 those who wait for me shall not be put to shame
 (49:23; cf. vss. 22, 24-26).

These passages together with the tenor of chapters 54-55 yield a picture of the mighty nation that Israel is about to become. Before her, all nations shall be subservient because of the salvation and majesty of Israel's God.⁶

4. *The recognition that great as was the shock of the Exile, greater still was the disillusionment of the Jewish community after 588 B.C.* The Babylonian Exile is rightly recognized as the great divide of the Old Testament. The repeated falls of Jerusalem, with their accompanying deportations, shook the community to its foundations (see, e.g., Lamentations; Ps. 137). A further, frequently overlooked factor is the even greater shock of the post-exilic situation in Judah. As the

biography of any home or nation clearly reveals, it is easier to rise to occasions of great crises than it is to live responsibly amidst a monotonous and unending round of unfulfilled promises and hopes. So it was with Israel.

Israel's genius rises to its heights in Second Isaiah. Through the fall of Jerusalem and the accompanying Exile, God reduces Israel to its lowest point in order to make it possible for all flesh to see together his glory. How does he accomplish this? Israel is taken from the national extinction of its Exile and raised through a new and triumphant Exodus to a position of power surpassing all the nations of the world. This is a "light to the nations"; these are God's witnesses. The deliverance is a staggering demonstration of and testimony to the omnipotence of Israel's God. The nations of the world must be convinced that he and he alone is Lord. Thus is God's triumphant rule ushered in as the result of Israel's witness to him.

But here is the one great flaw. The facts of the Exile speak differently. The triumphant return was only a trickle. Judah was to be confronted by the extremes of poverty as a vassal state of Persia, with all the taxes and political restrictions that this entailed. She was to become prey to neighboring peoples, notably Edom. The high hopes of 540 B.C. were soon to become despair, bitterness, and indifference. Disillusionment would have come in any case, but the materialistic language of Second Isaiah intensified it when it did come. Here is the perennial tragedy in expecting reward when the real situation calls for faith.

In the pre-exilic period, no matter how great was Israel's rebellion and no matter how severe the accompanying judgment, there was always the hope of a divine restoration to God's favor and to political and economic greatness. In part, it was this very hope that kept Israel's faith and loyalty alive during the Exile, even though toward the

end her spirits did flag. But with the Return it soon became evident that Israel's days of political greatness were over. This is particularly seen to be true if we accept the hypothesis that Zerubbabel was involved in an abortive revolt against Persia, and that the rededicated temple was destroyed by an Edomite raid about 485 B.C.⁷

Where was Israel's God? What profit was there in being loyal to him? The sorry state of affairs revealed in Malachi and Ezra-Nehemiah bear eloquent witness to the intensity of the crisis in the post-exilic community.

III

The four factors considered above provide a perspective from which to view the post-exilic literature.

The characteristic response to the Covenant on the part of the pre-exilic community was one of rebellion. The post-exilic community also defected from its covenant responsibilities through failing to accept its divinely-given role on God's terms. Its tensions of faith and its lack of trust combined with the atmosphere of insecurity to make prophecy lower its sights. Its confessional theology is now set in the quite different context of a crystallized and completed Torah. The virtues of prudential self-seeking are elevated and then quickly transformed into skepticism. Tensions of self-pity and self-righteousness arise amidst an anguished quest to understand the mystery of the unmerited suffering of God's people. And the eschatological hope is born that in one mighty sweep God will establish his kingdom upon earth.

Through all these developments, in varying degrees a pattern of faith becomes established on man's terms rather than on an unquestioning acceptance of God's will. Herein lies the unity of the post-exilic literature, which portrays the consistent failure of the post-exilic community to implement the will and demands of God. There is no intent here to censure this community or its literature, but we are provided with a lever for a more

adequate understanding of this literature in its relationship to the rest of the Bible.

1. *The prose Job* (1:1-2:10; 42:11-17). These passages constitute a special case in this literature. Their author approaches the problem of innocent suffering on the part of the individual and/or the community in a manner extraordinarily reminiscent of Second Isaiah. (We may interpret the Job of both the prose sections and the poems as being corporate in character. He combines the predicament of both the righteous individual and the righteous community.) In an external sense, the story ends very much as it began, except that Job is much wealthier. If at the end we ask what has happened, the only change is with respect to the Satan. Job is unchanged; of his faithfulness, God was certain all along. Only the Satan needs to be convinced. Thus Job's experience closely parallels that of the Servant in Isa. 52:13-53:12. His suffering becomes a witness and testimony to the skeptical and unbelieving—or to the Satan, who can quite properly be regarded as an embodiment of the skeptical pagans who were afflicting the Jews. Like the Servant, Job is assured of a glorious emergence from his sufferings in the very near future.

2. *The lowered sights of prophecy*. It was one thing for the great preaching prophets to proclaim the exalted principles of covenant loyalty and social justice to a society with strongly established social institutions. It was something quite different after the Exile to preach to a dispirited community. Haggai's and Zechariah's accent upon building the temple was the necessary elementary message for that moment. Judah's insecurity, both mental and physical, is revealed in the invective unleashed upon Edom (Obadiah; Isa. 63:1-6; etc.). While we may not approve, we can understand and sympathize. The unhealthy state of Judah's religion is clearly portrayed by Malachi who provides a lecture in the basic elements of the community's relation with its God. In Joel, the lat-

est of the canonical prophets, prophecy seems worn out. His message is largely derivative, and the spark and drive are no longer there. These post-exilic prophets are far beneath the great heights of the earlier prophets. Nevertheless, from the standpoint of the people's actual state of affairs, this was the only kind of preaching that could be relevant and effective.

3. *The accent upon cult: the religion of legalism.* When faith becomes feeble and God appears remote (contrast P with J), the worshipper comes to rely upon something concrete and tangible. Thus did the religious life of the post-exilic community come more and more to center about the twin foci of temple and Torah. This reflected the search for an external authority, in contrast to the internal authority announced in the New Covenant of Jeremiah.

Now law as such is not to be impugned. If the choice is between legalism and lawless rebellion, it is obvious which is closer to God's will. The reconstruction effected by the work of Nehemiah and Ezra assured the final victory of Judaism over apostasy. However, the Covenant is now defined in a way which makes the dutiful conduct of men take precedence over the motivations of conduct. The accent falls on deeds rather than principles. This shift from inner to outer religion is fully recognizable in the work of the Priestly School and the Chronicler.

Obedience to the law is not grudging but joyous; "his delight is in the law of the Lord" (Ps. 1:2). Further, the actions of God still receive prominent and even majestic expression, e.g., in the great prayer of Ezra (Neh. 9). Nevertheless, authority rests in the Torah and the temple ceremony rather than in the law written on the tablets of the heart.

4. *The growth of self-righteousness.* Here is yet another product of the accent upon the tangible. Once the worshipper's responsibilities are reduced to a code of conduct and religious observance, all he must do to be

righteous is to adhere rigorously to these requirements. If he does so, he is acceptable or justified before his God. Conversely, anyone who does not obey such regulations is by definition a sinner.

This at once divides the world into godly people (Jews) and ungodly people (Gentiles). The fact remains that self-righteous men tend to be uncharitable and self-centered. Hence, although early in this period we find proselytes welcomed (Isa. 56:1-8), later we find hatred for other nations (Isa. 63:1-6; see also Obadiah and Esther). The ruthlessness of Ezra's divorce decree and the initiation of the Samaritan schism belong to this period (Ezra 9-10), and the contribution of Nehemiah here is not altogether to his credit (Neh. 13:23-30).

Against these voices of exclusiveness, the books of Ruth and Jonah are reminders both of the promise of the Abrahamic election, "In you shall all the families of the earth be blessed" (Gen. 12:3), and of the universalism of Second Isaiah. But Ruth and Jonah are faint minority voices.

5. *The problem of the suffering righteous and their self-pity.* Antecedents for this mood are found in Jeremiah as well as in the exiled community, but now they receive their most intense expression. The post-exilic community simply could not comprehend why they, as the Chosen People, should be the victims of such injustice. Whether they suffered at the hands of individuals or groups made little difference. How could God permit his loyal people to suffer almost to the breaking point? Frustration and self-pity were the inevitable results.

Very nearly half of the Psalms in one way or another give expression to this anguish, but it is the poem of Job (3:1-42:6) that provides its most eloquent expression:

It is all one; therefore I say,

he [God] destroys both the blameless and the wicked.

When disaster brings sudden death,

he mocks at the calamity of the innocent.

The earth is given into the hand of the wicked;
 he covers the faces of its judges—
 if it is not he, who then is it? (9:22-24; see also
 chaps. 21, 24, 31).

Space does not permit detailed comment here, but one observation ought to be made. Whenever a person or community is embittered and gnawed by self-pity, the problem is not really one of suffering as such. All of life, whether in the form of the shocks of sand lot football or the pangs of giving birth, involves the experience of suffering. Self-pity does not originate in suffering; its origin lies in man's self-centered determination to fashion the world on his terms rather than to accept life on God's terms. It is this refusal to accept life on God's conditions for which Job repents at the end of the poem (42:6) and which is responsible for much of the tension and anguish reflected in the closing pages of the Old Testament.

6. *Prudential wisdom: the quest for security.* The desire for the concrete and the tangible to which reference is made above found other expressions among the Jews. The collection known as Proverbs reveals man's search for comprehensibility in a dark universe and his attempt to control his environment. The answer provided here is that deliverance can be found only in wisdom (Prov. 1, etc.) which is closely allied to "the fear of the Lord" (Prov. 1:7; Job 28). The dimension of the mysterious and the enigmatic is probed, and human descriptions of these mysteries are attempted (e.g., Prov. 30). Proverbs reads throughout like a handbook for personal success (cf. chaps. 5-6). Thus:

My son, do not forget my teaching,
 but let your heart keep my commandments. . . .

So will you find favor and good repute
 in the sight of God and man. (Prov. 3:14)

Here security is found in the tangible, just as, in another way, it was already found in temple and Torah.

7. *Skepticism.* It is but a short step from

the practice of prudential ethics (as in Proverbs) to complete skepticism and lack of trust in both the things of man and the things of God. This step is taken by Ecclesiastes. "Vanity of vanities! All is vanity . . ." (Eccles. 1:2). "It is an unhappy business that God has given to the sons of men to be busy with. I have seen everything that is done under the sun; and behold, all is vanity and a striving after wind" (1:14).

8. *Materialistic futurism.* The Jews found the present intolerable and they saw no hope that they would be able, by their own strength, to extricate themselves from their political weakness and their poverty. More and more they began to take refuge in the future. Thus, one source of apocalyptic is man's despair. Here is his confession that he is helpless before the overwhelming forces of history. All that he can do is wait for his predestined deliverance. "One like a son of man" will come and will establish the everlasting kingdom of God (Dan. 7:13-16). Such a deliverer comes not from men (as with the kings and prophets of Israel), but directly from God, for men are helpless. Not only will a mighty kingdom of God be established upon earth, but those who suffer a martyr's fate "shall awake to everlasting life" (Dan. 12:3).

Here we have, in part, a faith which transcends suffering. For the faithful, there is a meaningful life beyond the grave. For the discouraged, there is the faith that God's will shall be done, the opponents of God defeated, and his Chosen People saved and elevated to a place of glory. This kind of writing is most prominent in Daniel, but it appears elsewhere, as in Isa. 24-27, Second Zechariah, and similar sections. The Song of Solomon also belongs here, even though, superficially considered, it has sometimes been placed elsewhere. Whatever the origin of this collection of poems, it was its allegorical interpretation by the Jewish community and later by the Christian church which afforded it canonization. The community of faith saw in

it a picture of the coming Messianic Kingdom with the Messiah as groom and the faithful people as bride. At that time all suffering will vanish and God's people will know the peace of his love and power.

IV

On the basis of the foregoing materials, a pattern of unity within the Bible can quite legitimately be discerned and described, but in a way that fully recognizes the extraordinary diversity of the biblical literature. We may in general accept the current emphasis upon biblical unity grounded in the crucial actions of God and the crucial responses of man, but only with the qualification that the prevailing descriptions of the post-exilic literature respecting man's second response have been greatly over-simplified. This has led us to examine in some detail factors in Israel's pre-exilic and exilic faith which foster greater understanding of the post-exilic literature and the specific nature of its response to the saving activity of God. In light of these factors we are enabled to see that the principle which integrates the post-exilic literature is to be found in our understanding that human despair and anxiety lead to a lack of trust in God on God's terms. Each of the eight items we examined in the section above points to a form of "unfaith." All of them define man's relationship to God and to other men in terms acceptable to man rather than according to those imposed by God.

Thus it is that the Old Testament records a twofold denial of God's purposes. One is in a bold and violent form, that of rebellion. The other is more subtle in form. In this latter, the battle for loyalty to the one true God is won, but the post-exilic community in its search for security in its historical crises insisted on defining its relationship to God on its own terms, rather than those of God.

Thus the Old Testament closes on a note of incompleteness, but it sets the stage for the fulfillment found in the New Testament.

NOTES AND REFERENCES

¹ In addition, the biblical history is framed on either side by other materials. What might be described as "historicized myths" begin the Bible and are quite evidently presupposed throughout. These describe the gracious actions of God and the sinful responses of man from the very beginnings. It is clear that the subject of this material is fully as much what "is" as what "was." In similar fashion the eschatological passages of the Bible describe the consummation of God's will. Since this fulfillment has already begun to come into being, these passages describe what already in part "is" as well as what "shall be." The historicized myths project forward into history and the eschatological passages project backward.

² Dean Fenn, "Party Line Theology," *motive*, XXI (Dec., 1960), 8-10.

³ H. Wheeler Robinson, *Inspiration and Revelation in the Old Testament*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1946, p. 273.

⁴ Among the better and more original recent attempts to relate the post-exilic literature to the rest of the Bible are: Robert C. Dentan, "The Unity of the Old Testament," *Interpretation*, V (April, 1951), 153-173; Lawrence E. Toombs, "Old Testament Theology and the Wisdom Literature," *The Journal of Bible and Religion*, XXIII (July, 1955), 193-196; George Ernest Wright and Reginald H. Fuller, *The Book of the Acts of God*, Garden City, N. Y.: Doubleday & Co., 1957, pp. 180-196.

⁵ Among the more recent discussions are Davie Napier, *From Faith to Faith*, New York: Harper, 1955, pp. 151-155; John Bright, *A History of Israel*, Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1959, pp. 190-208; Martin Noth, *The History of Israel*, New York: Harper, 1960 (rev. ed.), pp. 204-216.

⁶ While the development of this section is my own, I acknowledge the help given to me by the essay of Norman H. Snaith, "The Servant of the Lord in Deutero-Isaiah" in *Studies in Old Testament Prophecy*, ed. H. H. Rowley, Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark, 1950, pp. 187-200.

⁷ See the studies by Julian Morganstern entitled "Jerusalem—485 B.C." in *Hebrew Union College Annual*, XXVII (1956), 101-179; XXVIII (1957), 15-47; XXXI (1960), 1-29.

A Reappraisal of the Christian Attitude to Judaism

JAMES PARKES

IT is now more than thirty years since I was plunged unexpectedly into a close study of European academic antisemitism. It would have surprised me greatly at that time to have been told that these studies of a contemporary social evil would lead me through history into theology, and into the reappraisal of theological statements which I had previously seen no reason to question. But I soon found that contemporary antisemitism was incomprehensible without a knowledge of Jewish history, and that there was no clue to Jewish history without an understanding of Judaism. As I began to understand historic Judaism, I began also to realize that it impinged far more deeply and disturbingly on my Christian preconceptions of its nature than I had ever expected. The whole issue of our relations with it demands a thorough re-examination, though I would emphasize that everything which I am seeking to put forward in this article is tentative, and that I claim for it no final authority. Nevertheless, these are conclusions which have emerged from the study and experience of thirty years, in which I have had quite unusual contacts with every aspect of Christian

relationships with Jews and Judaism, and which I originally approached with a singularly open—indeed empty—mind, since I had never met in my youth either Jews or the missionaries to them. Neither were to be found in my native Guernsey.

I

No one will question the statement that the relations between Judaism and Christianity are so intimate, and the traditional position taken by the Christian churches so unanimous and categorical, that to disturb either is bound at some point to cut extremely deeply into the traditional expression of our theology. The verdict which we pass upon the people and religion in which Jesus of Nazareth was born cannot be a matter of peripheral interest; and our claim to the inheritance of the promises of the Old Testament has involved an attitude to Jews who have remained faithful to Judaism on which they have every right to challenge us to the clearest and most unequivocal justification. They are in fact beginning to do so, as a number of books bear witness.

I have said "Christian churches" advisedly, for in their attitude to pre- and post-Christian Judaism the Eastern churches, the great Western tradition and the Reformed churches exhibit an unusual unanimity; and the extremists have come from east and west, medieval and post-medieval alike.

The violence of the eight infamous sermons which John Chrysostom preached at Antioch in 387 A.D. is repeated in the equal violence and obscenity of Martin Luther's *Die Juden und Ihre Lügen*. Moreover, quite apart from extremists, no ordinary Christian writer or preacher seems to feel it necessary

This article by JAMES PARKES, the noted English historian of Jewish-Christian relations, substantially duplicates a lecture he recently gave before the London Society for the Study of Religion, an organization numbering in its membership Roman Catholics, Anglicans, Free Churchmen, and Jews. A graduate of both Oxford and Cambridge, the author is a Church of England clergyman who is at present Director of the Parkes Library, a center for the study of relations between the Jewish and non-Jewish worlds, located at Barley, Royston in Hertfordshire. The latest of Dr. Parkes' many books is entitled *The Foundations of Judaism and Christianity*, published in the United States by Quadrangle Books, Chicago.

to guard his words or pull his punches in making abusive and derogatory remarks about Judaism and even Jews. When one has become sensitive to such remarks, as I have inevitably become, it is really horrifying from what gentle lips and with what sweet insouciance words can issue which I know to be factually untrue and grossly libelous. An excellent example is the constant repetition from pulpit and religious press of the supposed contrast in the field of law between the harsh Jewish enforcement of the *lex talionis* and the soul-winning Christian doctrine of love. But the truth is that the *lex talionis* had been abolished in Judaism some generations before Jesus was born, whereas the record of all the Christian churches in the enforcement of laws supposed to be verbally inspired in the Old Testament is, right up to the nineteenth century, uniformly bad. Even today we have members of the Dutch Church in South Africa producing the biblical condemnation of Ham, the son of Noah, as justification for its policy of *apartheid*.

The unanimity of this traditional attitude to Judaism has been rooted in two interpretations of history, both of which have been intimately entwined with Christian beliefs. It is for this reason that any reappraisal cuts so deep into our theological assumptions.

The first root is the delineation of the period between the return from the Babylonian Exile and the Incarnation as one of continuous spiritual decline. Such a delineation is fortified in turn by two suppositions: that the clue to the understanding of the spiritual values of the period is provided by the doctrine of the faithful Remnant, and that the immediate background to the mission of Jesus is provided by apocalyptic eschatology.

In amplification of the idea of the faithful Remnant a picture is often drawn of fidelity to the divinely given covenant narrowing down to a tiny group on the fringes of a mass of national rigidity and infidelity, until

the Remnant came to be represented only by the twelve disciples. When these deserted Jesus in Gethsemane, then Christ upon the Cross remained the sole link between the ancient covenant people and the new. As George A. Knight says in a *Christian Theology of the Old Testament*: "Christ is the Remnant of Israel in himself" (p. 350). A further example of the consequences of this emphasis on a Remnant might be drawn from an important recent work, *The History of New Testament Times, with an Introduction to the Apocrypha*, by Robert H. Pfeiffer. In a book of 560 pages, the "Religious History" of Palestinian Judaism from 200 B.C. to 200 A.D. occupies fourteen pages, and of that as many pages are given to messianic expectations as are sentences to the development of rabbinic Judaism.

This allocation of space faithfully reflects the supposition that the emergence of apocalyptic eschatology was the central religious event of these centuries; and that in this type of writing the coming of "the fullness of time" is to be seen, and the conditions prepared for the Incarnation. Such a supposition naturally views the Incarnation itself as an eschatological event and not as a seminal event; and this is certainly in line with most current schools of New Testament interpretation. For these schools assume that the apocalyptists held tenuously to the spiritual inheritance of Israel, while the overwhelming majority of the nation fell away to the arid legalism of increasing subservience to priest and Pharisee. The Remnant was composed of those who proclaimed an eschatological view of history.

The second root is the conviction that post-Christian Judaism is without independent spiritual dynamic or vitality. Those New Testament scholars and theologians who feel that anything more is needed than the bare statement of an obvious fact have no difficulty in producing quotations from the more congested pages of the Talmud (and they are many) to demonstrate this. I remember

that in my Oxford days it was popular to place the highest spiritual duty of a rabbinic Jew in the detection of eggs laid on the Sabbath. Even when the bare bones of this view were somewhat clothed in respect for the piety of such men as Hillel or Gamaliel, it would probably be fair to say that this was thought of as the reflection of an atmosphere surviving from a nobler period, but which, so far as the first century of the present era was concerned, was already better exemplified in Christianity. Hillel and Gamaliel were not thought of as early examples of a type of spiritual dynamic and personal piety which had survived and was continued in post-Christian Judaism. In fact, we have coined the term *Spät-Judenthum*, *Bas Judaïsme*, or *Late Judaism* to imply that we considered that Judaism had already passed its zenith some centuries before these men were born.

On such a background a picture was drawn of the process of history which likened it to two cones, meeting at their points, which point of meeting was Christ upon the Cross. All history before him looked forward to that event; all subsequent history looked back to it. The action of God in history was thus entirely Christocentric. As a natural corollary to this belief it is assumed that everything which was valid in the previous revelation of Sinai was taken over and incorporated into the life of Jesus and so into the life and doctrine of the Christian church. Thus, had post-Christian Judaism retained any validity, it could, theologically, be only as a pale shadow of what was actually better present in Christianity, implicitly if not explicitly.

II

And here is my problem. As I progressed more in the study and understanding of my subject, I came more and more clearly to recognize that on every point our interpretation of the period between Ezra and the Incarnation was demonstrably false; and good

theology cannot be built on bad history. The spiritually-minded Remnant, withdrawn from the main stream of national life, is a figment of Christian imagination. Apocalyptic eschatology, in spite of popular appeal at different moments of Jewish history, is a movement which was never of religious importance or distinguished for spirituality. Finally, the Judaism of these centuries is not "*spät-Judenthum*," but early Judaism, leading to the establishment of a fully developed *orthopraxy*, in just the same centuries as Christianity was reaching its fully developed *orthodoxy*. Rabbinic Judaism is not a predecessor of Christianity; it is a contemporary.

The trouble begins with our estimate of the work of Ezra and his successors. They were not narrow legalists from whom a spiritually minded Remnant had to withdraw. They ushered in one of the most remarkable periods in the spiritual Odyssey of humanity. They came back from Babylon convinced that defeat and exile had been just punishments for the sins of the nation, especially for its idolatry and its social malpractices. The redemption of the nation as a whole was therefore the constant object of their thinking. To achieve it they set themselves a double task. The worship of the nation, centering in the Temple, had to be purified from any stain of syncretism or worship of idols; and the whole nation had to be taught what God demanded of it in terms of constant obedience to his revealed will in every act of ordinary daily living. That within less than five hundred years "the fullness of time" had come, and Jesus of Nazareth was born, is a tribute alike to their just understanding of the spiritual need, and to the propriety of the measures which they took to meet it.

These measures were manifold. But at the heart of them was the absolute conviction that the *whole* people was involved in their fulfillment. This was no palace reform, depending on one good king; no setting up of a standard of holiness only to be achieved by withdrawal from the common life. It was the

emergence of something much greater and much more permanent. The pre-exilic prophets had proclaimed that God was concerned with the conduct of ordinary men and with the true living of ordinary life. Ezra and his successors created the machinery by which alone the ideals of the prophets could become a reality.

From the very beginning it was planned that the Torah should be regularly read and expounded to the people. It was so read and expounded in every Jewish settlement twice a week; and those who read it were trained in the performance of their task. At first it seems that they were drawn from the lesser priestly families, but later a special class of "scribes" emerged who took their name from the fact that they copied the scrolls of Torah as well as expounded them. Thus literacy and the local possession and knowledge of the Bible became common in the Jewish world.

That religion contained something to be taught was only part of their revolution. Though they laid great stress on the exact performance of the ritual of the Temple at Jerusalem, the group surrounding Ezra made a far more fundamental contribution to religious history by their enrichment of an exilic development. For in the Exile there grew up the tradition of the local congregation meeting regularly for worship as well as for instruction. The synagogue became the center of every Jewish community, in Palestine as well as abroad; and the synagogal liturgy, with its combination of prayer, praise and thanksgiving, is the model on which the services of the church are built.

For both teaching and worship there was immense value in an agreed collection of sacred Scriptures, which should be authoritative and serve to unite a people already widely scattered. It is not surprising that the essential steps to the formulation of the canon were taken during these centuries.

A final contribution lay in the progress made in the understanding of man as person,

as a child of God, unique in himself and with his own unexchangeable destiny. To this period belongs the exquisite devotion of much of the Psalter; and the post-exilic psalms alone should convince us of the unreality of separating the spiritual leadership of the nation from the teaching of Torah. For delight in the Law is writ large upon these psalms, and it is a delight which is neither external nor superficial, but of the very stuff of personal piety and devotion. It is from this period that we get the two stories of the lives of individuals included in the canon, the books of Ruth and Jonah. The books of apothegms or proverbs, within and without the canon, reflect much of the interest in man as individual. Ecclesiastes is an individual philosophy of life, perhaps the most surprising inclusion in Holy Scripture. Most important of all, it was in this period that the Book of Job saw the light. Its author dared to pose the question of individual destiny with a profound perplexity which at that time there was not the material to resolve. Underlying all this is the strangely slow beginning of a belief in personal and conscious survival, mostly in the form of the resurrection of the soul and body.

When we look at all this solid achievement, and contrast it with the shallow tinsel of the world of illusion in which apocalyptic eschatologists composed their politico-religious tracts, we cannot but be astonished that the mere coincidence of a quotation or two and a title or so, should make scholars see in them, and not in the teachers of Torah and their successors, the *preparatio evangelica* which made possible the Incarnation of the Son of God. The teaching and life of Jesus, and the establishment of the Christian church, grow right out of the heart of post-exilic Judaism, and not on the periphery, where the dreams of the apocalyptists were leading men into the dangerous fantasies of zealotry, war, and political assassination. Not only because of the content of their teaching, but because of the techniques which

they had evolved of the religious school, the synagogue, and the agreed Scriptures, the spread of Christianity becomes comprehensible.

At this stage of my presentation it could be claimed that all that I have been advocating is that we should see the source—humanly speaking—of “the fullness of time” in one aspect of Jewish history and not in another. So far as our relations with the surviving Judaism are concerned, it might appear that to say that Christianity came out of the heart of it, and not from some peripheral movement, would be even to take away such reason as might otherwise exist for its independent survival. But this is just what, as a historian, I find it quite impossible to do. Such a procedure simply does not correspond to well known, well authenticated, and easily established facts about post-Christian Judaism. The position has been somewhat obscured by the convention of speaking of post-exilic Judaism as “a church.” The phrase goes back to Dean Arthur P. Stanley, though I do not know whether it originated with him. But the ascription of the word is quite misleading. The task undertaken by Ezra was not to found a church. There is no sense in which it would be true of his work to say that he was “calling out” one Jew from amidst other Jews, or regarded one group of Jews as *the elect* as distinct from other Jews. His mission was conceived to be, and was successful in being, a call to the whole people. He secured from *the people* the repetition of the Sinaitic acceptance: “All that the Lord has spoken we will do,” and on that basis he planned his campaign to teach Torah to the whole people.

In distinction from all this, the followers of Jesus had no doubt whatever that he was calling men, by personal repentance and conviction, “out” from the midst of the world, whether they were Jew or Greek. The period during which they expected a total acceptance from all Israel was a very short one. Today we are repeating the error of Stanley

in a new way by saying that “Jesus did not found the church; it had been in existence since Abraham.” This could not be so. It is surely contrary to all that we have learned from anthropological study to believe that the divine call to man as person came before the divine call of Sinai to a whole people. The Incarnation is rooted in previous history. But it is itself a *new* divine initiative, and the continuing product of that initiative is a *new* creation, the Christian church.

Thus, whether post-Christian Judaism be right or wrong, it is clear that Christianity has not absorbed its values, but created *new* ones. Judaism and Christianity are different kinds of religion and neither is an imperfect form of the other. Not only do both claim a divine origin on the same basis, but, from a human point of view, both are reasonable growths from their different foundations. Both accept the proposition that God chooses agents through whom his will is known and his work is done throughout his creation. Christianity sees those agents gathered in the church as “the elect from every nation.” Judaism sees them gathered in the synagogue as an “elect nation.” It is foolish for either to reproach the other with a charge of selfishness, for it is the best teaching of neither that any benefits which God may bestow upon them should be kept to themselves.

III

Put in its simplest form the result has been that Christianity as a historical religion has clearly found its human center in man as person. We have shown how this is rooted in the previous half millennium. Judaism, equally obviously, has its center in man as social being, as member of a natural community—a “people”—and this is equally genuinely and unmistakably rooted in the developments of the same period.

It is important to emphasize that to say that Christianity is rooted in man as person is not the same as saying that it is rooted in the individual. Christianity does not see the

world atomized into millions of individuals. Man as person has both a corporate and a singular existence, as the church bears witness. But this corporate existence is something new, something growing out of the Incarnation.

The dilemma would be solved if we could accept the idea, which we find already in the New Testament, that the church, i.e., a selected community, was identical with the natural community on which Judaism rests. The dilemma would be equally solved if we could argue that the history of the last two millennia showed that the natural community, now the nation-state, was clearly passing away, and that the church was ready and well equipped to replace it on the world stage. Unfortunately, natural and selected communities are not identical; the state is not withering away but becomes every day a more inescapable part of the organization of human life. In no field does the trumpet of the churches give forth more uncertain sounds than in the realms of national and international politics.

I am, I know, making cut and dried statements in fields where there is much variety, and adducing black and white where there is an infinity of nuances. Churches *have* spoken in politics; Judaism *does* regard the individual as a person and not as a robot; the Christian tradition *is* well aware that man cannot live alone; etc. Yet the difference between Christianity and Judaism is a real one. I think that I can show it by two quite fair illustrations.

The traditional ideal of a Jewish rabbi does not include a pastoral vocation "to seek and save those who are lost"; and the evangelistic mission, in the form in which Christianity has developed it, plays no part in Jewish history. This must be said with great delicacy, for both Christianity and Islam have made conversion to Judaism a capital offense, and Jews are not to be blamed for an isolation and a concentration on their own community which we have imposed upon

them. But I think that I am legitimately citing the experience of those centuries when Jews could and did make converts. They were made by the attractive power of the local synagogue, not by trained missionaries going out singly or in groups to cities and regions where settled Jewish communities did not exist. Christianity, on the other hand, cannot but be a missionary religion; and that mission must, as Paul realized at the beginning, take no account of bond or free, man or woman, or, as I am sure he would add if he were preaching now, white or black.

My other illustration is taken from a midrash explaining why Jews at the Feast of Tabernacles hold in one hand a sweet smelling citron and in the other the lulav, a spray of the palm, the myrtle and the willow bound together. The explanation is this:

The fruit of the Hadar tree symbolizes Israel: just as the citron has taste as well as fragrance, so Israel have among them men who possess learning as well as good deeds. Branches of palm tree too applies to Israel: as the palm has taste but not fragrance, so Israel have among them such as possess learning but not good deeds. And boughs of the thick trees likewise applies to Israel: just as the myrtle has fragrance but no taste, so Israel have among them such as possess good deeds but not learning. And willows of the brook also applies to Israel: just as the willow has no taste and no fragrance so Israel have among them such as possess neither learning nor good deeds. What then does the Holy One, blessed be He, do to them? To destroy them is impossible. But, says the Holy One, blessed be He, let them all be tied together in one band, and they will atone, one for another. And in that hour the Lord is exalted.

Broadly speaking the willow is not bound into the Christian lulav, and in saying this I am not ignoring the outpouring, century by century, of the love of Christ in the haunts of ignorance and vice of a fallen world. The willow represents those who are outside the church, those who, in any predestinarian theology would have been earmarked for damnation. Less rigid theologies may deal with them more tenderly, but the basic fact

would be the same: Such persons may be within the sphere of the church's redemptive activity, but they would not provide cause for the church to modify its theology. There is nothing comparable in the Christian tradition to the constant Jewish feeling that demands must not be made upon the people which it is not possible for them to obey.

This is a fundamental difference between a religion whose members enter it by choice, whether of God or man, and a religion whose members are there by the simple fact of birth, a difference not eliminated by the Christian adoption of infant baptism. Running all through Jewish thought is the insistence that what is asked for is attainable in the ordinary paths of life. "It is not too hard for you, neither is it far off. . . . But the word is very near to you, in your mouth and in your heart, so that you can do it" (Deut. 30:11, 14). Running all through Christianity is an equally clear insistence on the unattainable, on the perfection striven for but not reached: "Here we have no abiding city."

Now it is true that Christian polemicists have sneered at Judaism because they have regarded this Jewish characteristic as implying superficiality; and Jewish polemicists have likewise spoken of Christianity as out of this world. When we ignore the fact that in the history of each there are weaknesses connected with these two emphases, and when we seek to understand the two emphases themselves, then I think that we are forced to the conclusions that each is right according to its premises, and that its premises rest securely upon actual facts of human experience.

If a nation is to have a religion that will guide its political, social and international conduct, there must be constant care for the willow in its lulav. It is not the task of its religious leaders to concentrate only upon what can be achieved or understood just by a few—though of course there is room within a nation for those few—but is unattainable by those who must do its daily and

ordinary work. The main task of the religious leader is to set before the nation that which is attainable by their society as it actually exists at the given moment, and also constantly to renew the techniques which will most help ordinary men and women to bend their lives to that goal. Except in very unusual circumstances, nations do not repent. But they can change their objectives. Nations are not made virtuous by regulations which go beyond their willingness to be regulated—witness the tragic failure of prohibition in the United States—but they can change their habits. They cannot always be made good; but they can be safeguarded from foreseeable temptation. It is wise to build a fence about their Torah.

The situation is quite different when one considers man as person. It is impossible to imagine a Christian church setting before its congregation an attainable goal of righteousness; and it is right that within the body of a Christian church there is a place—a central place—for the mystic and the ascetic, for the cloister and the life of dedicated prayer and poverty. For the church as a community is not the nation as a community. It is the body of Christ.

Here then is the dilemma. It would be intolerable that Christianity should clothe itself in the garb of Judaism. But I cannot, as do most of my fellow-Christians, thereby relegate Judaism to the limbo of outworn creeds. For I am bound as a historian to say that it is no part of the task of post-Christian Judaism to clothe itself with the ethos and activity of Christianity. A religion designed, as the recipients of the Sinaitic revelation rightly understood it to be, to create a holy nation must take into account the way in which a nation changes. It must be perpetually conscious of the need to keep the willow bound within its lulav. And, as nations are permanently with us, can it not be that Judaism is still divinely intended to show the way towards a nation's holiness?

Before I pass to a further point, I want

for a moment to touch on one of the peculiar difficulties of this whole endeavour. The Jews have been subjected to a history so full of persecution, restriction and distortion, that their Judaism is inevitably affected. The miracle is that it has survived at all. But both in Orthodoxy and in Reform, Judaism shows weaknesses which can be easily exploited. Excessive rigidity on the one hand, and excessive vagueness on the other, can obscure the basic character of the Sinaitic faith to an unsympathetic outsider. But in its essence that faith is, as the faith of a nation must be, astonishingly flexible and astonishingly positive.

We have only to reflect on that history to confirm this description. The rabbinic academies of Palestine and Babylon evolved a way of life which was identifiable from China to the Atlantic Ocean through a thousand separate autonomous communities, and which endured century after century the seduction of the differing environments of all the world's major faiths, without apostasy and without schism, and yet without compulsion and without any central authority.

I would return now to a second point. It is the fashion of some schools of contemporary theology to sneer at "moralism," and they are happy to dismiss the Hebrew prophets under this cliché. But a delicate sense of the moral, and an extended use both of law and custom and the right and duty to interpret them, is the quite inevitable way in which to approach the transformation of man's daily life into the conscious service of God. Be it noted that the ordinary Jewish prayer book contains six pages devoted entirely to the benedictions appropriate to every joy and sorrow of life. Everything is a gift of the Creator, and he asks of man only that in using it he give thanks. A Jew can, of course, say grace in as slovenly and mechanical a fashion as a Christian. But Judaism has continuously emphasized that "the daily round, the common task, can

furnish all we need to ask." That also is the way to a nation's holiness.

IV

Thus we have come to the heart of the problem. Because the same man is both a person in himself and a member of a natural community, does he not need the insights of both Judaism and Christianity? Historically speaking, Christianity has not absorbed Judaism; theologically speaking, it would not have absorbed Judaism even if all Jews individually accepted baptism in the different existing Christian churches. They would have gained Jews, but they would have lost Sinai.

I am often accused of saying that I regard Judaism and Christianity as equally legitimate alternatives, so that it is a matter of indifference which of the two a man might accept for himself. This is not my position at all. The conclusion to which I find myself forced is the apparently absurd proposal that man needs both.

It will help at this stage to turn from a consideration of the two religions to look at the world in which they are operating. We see that it is an inescapable destiny of man to be both person in himself and member of a natural community; and that it is inherent in the very nature of the world that these two qualities should often be in tension, even in opposition, to each other. The government of a nation must act differently toward its stewardship of national affairs from an individual dealing with his own property and relationships. Any public official, from judge to member of the legislature, must be able to set aside personal predilections to consider what can be publicly achieved, or what is the public good. One could multiply examples, but the point is too obvious for this to be necessary; and it is more important to seek the interpretation.

I believe that we would all accept the view that this tension is part of God's creation,

and will endure so long as the present Age endures. The argument between the perspectives of individual and society is permanently and intentionally insoluble. True community must consist of free persons, and personality cannot reach its fulfillment except in community. With this in mind, I cannot escape the conviction that the historical evidence shows clearly that each of the two religions has, as it were, backed one side of the equation. Each can offer evidence that it has channelled the power of God into human lives, but in distinctive ways. The two religions are neither identical nor interchangeable, so that neither can be said to be superfluous. Moreover, is it not reasonable to add that God would prefer that his power should be channelled equally to both sides of the equation? Are there not vast reserves of divine power which Christians do not tap, because they insist that God deals *directly* with man as person but *only indirectly* with man as citizen? I remember Father E. K. Talbot arguing passionately with me that, when you had a banker who was a regular communicant, there you had the church in banking. But would not God like also that the banker should expect to meet him directly in the bank, and to receive his guidance in the problems of his bank?

At first it seems fantastic in any way to equate God speaking at Sinai with God acting upon Golgotha. But I am puzzled as to whether the shock is not emotionally natural rather than intellectually justifiable. Because most of my readers are Christians, I have been stressing the positive contribution of Judaism. But I have not been denying the positive values of Christianity. Nothing that

I have found in my studies lessens my belief in Christ as "God of God, Light of Light, Very God of very God." Nothing lessens my belief in the Incarnation or the Atonement, nothing has made the Christian church for me less the continuation of that Incarnation. What I am concerned about is not that something be taken away but that something be added.

With reference to the shock mentioned above, is not the answer that God would in these supreme moments of revelation choose the channel natural and appropriate to his purpose? All that we know of the natural community suggests that the revelation of God's purpose to it should be addressed, not to the heart, but to the intellect and the reason. But that does not mean that such revelation is less important than another kind. After two world wars, in the middle of the cold war, and with the evidence of the power over man as person of brainwashing, mass propaganda, and torture, it is difficult to say that man as social being is evidently less important to God than man as person.

I do not know the answer to all the questions which I have asked. However, I am sure that it involves more than adding another cardinal to the Vatican, drafting another resolution for the World Council of Churches, or laying another burden on the backs of the parochial ministry of all denominations. I am certain too that it does not mean the Christian adoption of all the multiple orthopraxis of Jewish life. But I do not think that we shall find out what it does mean until we begin to sort out the implications of such things as I have been saying in this article.

Interfaith Communication: The Contemporary Scene

HUSTON SMITH

MEN need unity and they need God. Care must be taken neither to confuse unity with uniformity nor God with our parochial ideas about him, but with these two qualifications, the statement stands. The statement also points to a classic paradox: The more men turn toward God, who is not only in himself the paradigm of all unity but also the only ground on which human unity can ultimately be established, the more men splinter into groups and set themselves apart from one another. To be reminded of this we need only glance at the world map and note the extent to which religious divisions have compounded political ones, with a resultant fragmentation of the human race. Massacres attending the partition of India and the establishment of the State of Israel are simply recent grim evidences of the hostility such divisions can engender. The words of Cardinal Newman come forcibly to mind: "Oh how we hate one another for the love of God!"

The source of this paradox is not difficult to identify. It lies in institutions. Institutions require structure, form, and definition, and these in turn entail differentiation and exclusion. A completely amorphous institution would be a contradiction in terms; to escape this fate, it must rule some things out. For every criterion which defines what something is, at the same time proclaims—implicitly if not openly—what that something is not. Some persons are so sensitive to this

truth as to propose that we do away with institutions altogether; in the present context this amounts to the advice that while being religious may have a certain justification, we ought to dispense with churches. The suggestion is naive. Man is at once a gregarious animal and a form-creating being. Having once committed himself to an ideal which he considers worthwhile, he inevitably creates forms for its expression and institutions for its continuance. To propose that men be religious without having religious institutions is like proposing that they be learned without having schools. Both eventualities are possible logically, but practically they are impossible. As much as men intrinsically need the unity that is grounded in God, they instrumentally require the institutions that will direct their steps toward him.

Yet the fact remains that such institutions do set men at odds with their fellows. Is there any way out of the predicament? The only way that I can see is through communication. Interfaith communication need not be regarded as an unfortunate burden visited upon us by the necessity of maintaining diplomatic relations with our adversaries. Approached creatively, it is a high art. It is the art of relating the finite to the infinite, of doing our best to insure that the particularistic requirements of religious institutions will not thwart God's intent of unity among men more than is minimally necessary. In a certain sense, interfaith communication parallels diplomatic communication among the nation-states.

What are the pertinent facts affecting such communication at the present juncture of history? I shall touch on three areas: personal, national, and theological.

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I

By personal factors I mean those rooted in personality structure. Some interfaith tensions are not occasioned by theological differences at all, but by the need of men to have persons they can blame, distrust, denounce, and even hate. Such needs may rise to pathological proportions. Modern psychology has shown that paralleling "the authoritarian personality" is "the bigoted personality" in which insecurity, inferiority, suspicion, and distrust combine to provide a target for antagonism so indispensable that it will be manufactured if it does not exist naturally.¹ Fortunately the number of pathological bigots appears to be quite small, but it would be a mistake to think that more than a matter of degree separates them from the rest of us. To some extent the personal inadequacies that prejudices attempt to compensate for are to be found in all of us.

Interfaith conflicts which spring from psychological deficiencies are the most unfortunate of all, for they have no redeeming features whatsoever. It is difficult to say what can be done about them except that we must learn to recognize when it is they, rather than pretexts for them, that are causing the trouble, and do everything possible to nurture the healthy personalities that will prevent the development of such deficiencies.

II

While the personality factors that aggravate interfaith conflict may be perennial, nationalism is more variable. The specific instance I have in mind is the Afro-Asian version which has gained prominence only in this second half of the twentieth century.

Emerging from two centuries of colonial domination, the Afro-Asian world is aflame with a nationalism that has undone empires. No less than twenty-two nations have already achieved independence since World War II, and the number is growing by the year. As an obvious consequence, obstacles

to genuine interfaith communication have grown more formidable in one important area: relations between Christians and non-Christians in these lands. Colonialism alone would have been able to make these difficulties serious, for Christianity is so closely tied to colonialism in the minds of these people that repudiation of the one has tended automatically toward the repudiation of the other. Actually, however, this turns out to be only part of the picture. Nationalism has abetted not only the repudiation of foreign religions but the revival of native ones, some of which had been lying in slumber for centuries. The truth is that any revival of traditional and indigenous religion will serve to promote that sense of identity and *Volksgeist* which these young nations very much need. Insofar as these nations claim to incarnate traditions and ways of life which constitute ultimate, trans-political justifications for their existence, such people are inevitably led to emphasize the ways in which these traditions and ways are *theirs* rather than someone else's.

All this works severely against the kind of cross-cultural communication for which Christian missions stand. Africans and Asians tend to consider not only missions but the local churches they have produced as centers and agents of Western culture and ideology if not of direct political propaganda. The people hardest hit by this suspicion are, of course, Christians on the mainland of China. But the problem extends elsewhere. For example, in Burma and Ceylon many Buddhists argue that Buddhism ought to be the official state religion.² In 1960 Ceylon nationalized its sectarian—preponderantly Christian—schools, to the rejoicing of most of its 7,000,000 Buddhists and the lament of its 800,000 Roman Catholics. Again, India has imposed formidable barriers against the entrance of additional missionaries, and fanatical Hindu parties are expected to seek further action against Christians once the in-

fluence making for tolerance due to Nehru and his followers is gone.

The progressive closing of Afro-Asian ears to the Christian message is epitomized in a conversation I had three years ago while flying from Jerusalem to Cairo. I was seated next to the director of the Seventh Day Adventists' world radio program. He said that on his tour the preceding year a considerable number of hours would have been available to him on Japanese radio networks, but that he had then lacked the funds to contract for them. After returning to the United States and raising the money, he discovered on getting back to Japan that the hours were no longer available. It was not that they had been contracted for during the interval; they simply could no longer be purchased for missionary purposes. It is not unfair to add on the other side that the crude and almost vitriolic approach of certain fundamentalist sects toward the cultures and religions among which they work has contributed measurably to this heightening of anti-Christian sentiment. Ironically, these are the groups which have doubled or tripled their missionary efforts since World War II, while the more established denominations are barely maintaining pre-war staffs.

Although I have emphasized the barriers which an aroused nationalism has raised against relations between Christians and non-Christians in Asia, the fact is that this development has also widened the gulf between certain Afro-Asian religions themselves. The partition of India has hardly improved relations between Hindus and Muslims; neither has the establishment of the State of Israel fostered harmony between Muslims and Jews.

III

I turn finally to several theological developments.

1. *Theocracy reconsidered.* The modern world has been marked by progressive disaffection with claims to divine sanction for

the state, whatever its political form. The American Constitution was historic at this point in providing that "Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion or prohibiting the free exercise thereof." One of our foremost jurists, David Dudley Field, has gone so far as to call this provision "the greatest achievement ever made in the course of human history."

The trend throughout the world's religions has been toward a recognition of at least the practical validity of this constitutional enactment. Pakistan was created in 1947 expressly as a Muslim state, but when the army took over eleven years later it did so on a wave of mass impatience which was directed in part against the inability of political and religious leaders to think their way through to the meaning of Islam for the modern political situation. "What is the point," Charles Adams reports the Pakistanis as asking, "in demanding an Islamic state and society if no one, not even the doctors of the sacred law themselves, can say clearly and succinctly what the nature of such a state and society is?"³ The current regime of President Mohammad Ayub Khan is determinedly secular. And while the nation was formerly named "The Islamic Republic of Pakistan," it is now simply "The Republic of Pakistan."

Comparable trends can be noted elsewhere. The new regime in Turkey is intentionally less Muslim than its predecessor. The religious parties in Israel have experienced a great loss of prestige in recent months. During the years when Israel was passing from crisis to crisis—the Sinai campaign, the infusion of multitudes of penniless immigrants—it was felt that the purpose of national unity could be best served if the secular majority were to yield to the religious parties. Now that Israel enjoys relative prosperity and a reduction of tensions, the secularists are less disposed to compromise. And in this country Gustave Weigel's delineation of the line between the sacral and

secular orders during the last presidential campaign served to provide a most impressive Roman Catholic defense of the practical autonomy of both church and state. The failure at that time of the Puerto Rican bishops to control the votes of their people added a ring of good sense to Father Weigel's theological argument. Everywhere there seems to be a growing recognition of the fact that governments and religious institutions alike are too fallible and corruptible—in a word, too human—to warrant any claim of maintaining partnership with the divine.

2. *Salvation reconsidered.* My father went as a missionary to China in a generation that responded to Student Volunteer Movement speakers who held watches in their hands and announced to the students in their audiences how many Chinese souls were going to hell each second because these students were not over there saving them. That mention of this should bring smiles to our lips today is as clear an indication as we could wish of the extent to which attitudes have changed. I do not mean to imply that Christians have adopted the liberal assumption, so prevalent in Hinduism, that all religions are merely different paths to the same summit. Leslie Newbiggin reflects the dominant position within the World Council of Churches when he says, "We must claim absoluteness and finality for Christ and His finished work, but that very claim forbids us to claim absoluteness and finality for our understanding of it." Newbiggin's qualification on the Christian claim is of considerable significance. The Roman Catholic Church has excommunicated one of its priests, Father Feeney, for insisting that there is no salvation outside the visible church. In mentioning this under "salvation reconsidered" I do not mean to imply that Roman Catholic doctrine has changed in this area but rather that it has become clearer to the world community what that doctrine is. My point is

that such clarification helps foster improved interfaith relations.

3. *Conversion reconsidered.* I have said that Christian acknowledgment of the possibility of salvation outside the visible church does not entail the conclusion that all religions are equally valid. Accordingly, such acknowledgment has not halted evangelism and the missionary outreach. But here too there has occurred a noticeable alteration in tone. This is epitomized in what has come to be known as "the confessional approach." From that standpoint, there is validity in man's natural disposition to share with others the spiritual benefits that come into his life. It follows that Christians who have genuinely experienced the power of the Holy Spirit will want and, indeed, feel compelled to witness (i.e., confess) to this fact. But here is where their obligation ends. To go further and say, in effect, "Because my faith means the world to me, you must embrace it too," is at once to treat other men in a depersonalized way and to pre-empt the place of God. The confessional approach would appear to be faithful to the New Testament admonition that we "judge nothing before the time until the Lord come" (I Cor. 4:5).

IV

Despite the problems that are still obviously with us, I am generally cheerful about recent developments in interfaith relationships. The distance we have come can best be seen by looking back. Consider, for example, the following words from the past, remembering that the man who spoke them, John Chrysostom, was not a rabble-rousing fanatic but a great saint of the Christian church whom Cardinal Newman could characterize as "a sensitive heart . . . elevated, refined, transformed by a touch of heaven." John wrote: "The synagogue is worse than a brothel . . . it is the den of scoundrels and the repair of wild beasts . . . a criminal assembly of Jews . . . a house of ill fame, a dwelling of iniquity, the refuge of devils, a

gulf and abyss of perdition. . . . As for me I hate the synagogue. . . . I hate the Jews for the same reason." And eleven hundred years later a characterization of the Jews by Martin Luther was still in the same vein: "Their synagogues ought to be razed to the ground, their houses destroyed, their books, including the Talmud, and even the Old Testament, taken from them and their Rab-bis compelled to earn their bread by hard labor."⁴ However, it is difficult to imagine any responsible religious leader today speaking of another faith in such tones. We have come a long way.

There are other encouraging signs. At the forefront of these is the ecumenical movement. The World Council of Churches had just fifty-two communions in its membership in 1939; by 1948, the number had grown to ninety; and today there are some 178 member churches. It is anticipated that at the Third Assembly of the World Council of Churches to be held in New Delhi in November, 1961, the request of the Russian Orthodox Church for membership will be honored. In Europe, the ecumenical movement has already advanced to the point of signifying not primarily cooperation among just Protestant and Eastern Orthodox Christians, as it does in the United States, but actual exploratory dialogue between these

groups and Roman Catholics. For a number of years, E. Stanley Jones has talked with Hindus and Muslims in ways both deep and open, not with the object of converting them but for the sake of reciprocal sharing. Richard Kitan, a Congregationalist missionary in South India, has experimented with common prayers between Hindus and Christians. Kenneth Cragg is pleading for an opportunity in which Christians and Muslims may come together as human beings "to witness to one another of their religious commitments and their faith," in order that the limitations and inadequacies of each side may be brought to light and discussed honestly. Everywhere there seems to be a new willingness to "let both grow together until the harvest" (Matt. 13:20). For the first time in over four hundred years, the Pope and the Archbishop of Canterbury have met face to face. And a Protestant majority has elected John F. Kennedy president of the United States.

REFERENCES

¹ See Gordon Allport, *The Nature of Prejudice*, Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1954.

² Cf. Kenneth W. Morgan, ed., *The Path of the Buddha*, New York: Ronald Press, 1956, p. 368.

³ In Joseph Kitagawa, ed., *Modern Trends in World Religions*, La Salle, Ill.: Open Court, 1959, p. 45.

⁴ As quoted in Edwyn Bevan, *Christianity*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1932, p. 156.

A Note on Theological Procedure

A. ROY ECKARDT

THAT the pursuits of science, history, and Christian theology are related is a truism. There are "historical sciences," and, conversely, it is possible to think of history as in certain respects a science. "Historical theology" is an accredited subject. Theology itself has sometimes been construed as in some sense a science. And there have been attempts to provide theologies of history and of science.

It is equally obvious that these disciplines maintain distinctive emphases. The present note comments upon the nature of theological procedure relative to the procedures of science and history.

I

The sciences, according to Ernest Nagel,

seek to discover and to formulate in general terms the conditions under which events of various sorts occur, the statements of such determining conditions being the explanations of the corresponding happenings. This goal can be achieved only by distinguishing or isolating certain properties in the subject matter studied and by ascertaining the repeatable patterns of dependence in which these properties stand to one another.

.....
To explain, to establish some relation of dependence between propositions superficially unrelated, to exhibit systematically connections between apparently miscellaneous items of information are distinctive marks of scientific inquiry.¹

History is frequently interpreted as differing from science through a concentration upon events or states of affairs which are unique. As Joynt and Rescher have shown, this view must be severely criticized.² The simple truth is that all events are unique; they "are rendered non-unique *in thought only*, by choosing to use them as examples of a type or class." Further, the discipline of

history "conforms fully to the standard hypothetico-deductive paradigm of scientific inquiry. . . ." Accordingly, the distinguishing marks of history lie neither in its subject matter nor in its methods.³

What, then, is the peculiarity of history? It is found in a practical reversal of the means-end relationship between fact and theory that obtains in science as such. The sciences seek to provide generalizations and, ideally, universal laws governing the range of phenomena constituting various factual domains.

In the sciences, the particular events that comprise the facts studied play an indispensable but nonetheless strictly subordinate role: the focus of interest is the general law, "and the particular fact is simply a means to this end.

In history, on the other hand, this means-end relationship is, in effect, reversed. Unlike the scientist, the historian's interest lies, first and foremost, in the particular facts of his domain. . . . [However,] the historian is not simply interested in dating events and describing them, but in *understanding them*. And "understanding" calls for interpretation, classification, and assessment, which can only be attained by grasping the relationship of causal and conceptual interrelation among the chronological particulars.

.....
... [For the historian] the role of generalizations is strictly instrumental: they provide aids towards understanding particular events. The scientist's means-end relation of facts to laws is thus inverted by the historian.⁴

There is a sense in which history deals with the "unique": through its concern with temporally limited patterns. History takes its own unique character from the connection between "the temporal process and the existence of the limited generalizations which give a specific character to a particular historical epoch or set of historical conditions."⁵ The historian exposes his interpretations to the scrutiny of others and trusts that his version of the materials at hand will gain public

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assent, at least among his peers. All disciplines have to come to terms with unique realities and relationships. Science is able to attenuate to a certain degree the confusions of the spatio-temporal flux through the device of abstracting (choosing out) hopefully common elements displayed by disparate phenomena. The public character of scientific findings is widely celebrated; we seem to hear less of the heavy price so often exacted by such sharing: a surrender of the individuality of things.

II

Where does Christian theology stand with reference to the procedural schemes just outlined? If the historian seeks to understand the past for its own sake and does not view facts in their instrumental role as data for laws,⁶ the theologian concentrates upon certain facts of the past not only because they possess intrinsic value but also for instrumental purposes. In this last-mentioned respect, the theologian's intention parallels to some degree that of the scientist. However, instead of seeking to formulate general laws as such, the theologian approaches his facts as the partly instrumental source and inspiration of the life of faith. The "public" to whom he relates himself is, in the first instance, the community of faith, although this does not mean that he will not himself sometimes call upon purely scientific and purely historical resources.

It follows that the theologian's procedures are in part like the historian's and in part like the scientist's, without being the same as either of the other methods. The happenings to which the theologian directs his hearers are believed to be revelatory, in some positive and decisive way, of ultimate truth or reality. As everyone knows, Christian thought is heir to Jewish prophetic "explanations" of events. Thus, the conviction that Israel had violated the terms of the original Covenant act became a crucial means of accounting for the varied sufferings of the nation. (The historian is wary of "explanations" as "high-level" as this one; when he does venture upon them, he has actually assumed the

mantle of prophet or of theologian of history.)

The peculiarly Christian "explanation" is summarized in H. Richard Niebuhr's words:

The special occasion to which we appeal in the Christian church is called Jesus Christ, in whom we see the righteousness of God, his power and wisdom. But from that special occasion we also derive the concepts which make possible the elucidation of all the events in our history. Revelation means this intelligible event which makes all other events intelligible.⁷

The event of Jesus Christ is, needless to say, not at all to be associated with a "universal law." Yet its recital does bear one important resemblance to any recourse to scientific law: *It offers a decisive key to general understanding.* (One could argue that modern scientific explanation carries forward in this one respect the traditional role of theology and Christian philosophy within Western culture.) From the standpoint of Christian commitment at least, in Jesus Christ the meaning of the entire course of human life is shown. Theology joins with common sense in agreeing with the historical judgment that all temporal events are unique, but it goes beyond pure history through its assertion that Jesus Christ is *uniquely* unique. That is to say, if within the sciences, as Joynt and Rescher indicate, particular events are subordinate to concern with general laws, in Christian theology the various events of history before and since Jesus Christ are subordinate to—i.e., they derive their ultimate significance and value from—the one event of Christ. If history reverses, in effect, the scientific means-end relationship of fact and law, theology unites with history in a concentration upon particularities. However, where historical understanding is content with "limited generalizations" rooted in "transitory regularities,"⁸ the Christian theologian hazards an "unlimited" or "eternal" affirmation: that Jesus Christ is the "center of history."

As Ernest Nagel reminds us, the peculiar business of science is explanation. But, as he makes plain, on the one hand explanations are defined in science as statements of the

conditions that determine the occurrences of various sorts of happenings, and on the other hand scientific explanation entails the process of abstraction amidst "repeatable patterns of dependence." It is, of course, meaningless to seek after scientific conditions for God's acts of self-disclosure; the most we can do here is to ponder with great care such expressions as "the fullness of time" and to speak of the "condition" of man and his world (sin, freedom, finitude, etc.). Further, Christian theology dares to offer an "explanation" not alone of the alleged patterns of all human events but also of their seeming chaos, an "explanation" which is therefore in a sense universal but one that nevertheless rests upon radical uniqueness. Theology is involved in and founded upon an event rather than upon a set of abstractions. In the Christian view, an ultimate "explanation" may be applied to pattern and patternlessness alike—"behind the dim unknown, standeth God within the shadow"—yet without the necessity of paying the price (alluded to above) that accompanies so much scientific explanation: a loss of reality in its concreteness. Theology takes its uniquely unique happening and proceeds, with much boldness, to relate it to an understanding of all events: this martyrdom and that betrayal, this sunshine and that rainfall, this success and that failure, this deed of friendship and that act of hostility.

Such ultimate accounting must not lead us to equate faith and knowledge as such or to pre-empt alternate methods of understanding (including that of philosophy). Roger Hazelton is quite right in warning against "claims for theology which cannot be made good." Hazelton points out that "there is something decidedly presumptuous in the implication that theology is a sort of master perspective by which any sort of event or meaning can be reckoned with and put in its proper intellectual place."⁹ The truth is that *any* event or series of events can be subjected, in principle, to purely scientific procedures. The same is true with respect to historical procedures. And theology hardly qualifies as an intellectual *deus ex machina* that can be hur-

ried to the aid of philosophers in trouble. Each of the disciplines under discussion here is internally unlimited. To hold that one discipline possesses a monopoly upon one area of life or, conversely, that it must not trespass upon reserved ground is to misconstrue the nature of all these pursuits. Essentially, they represent *different* ways of dealing with the *same* world. Accordingly, all that we need insist upon in the present context is equality of opportunity among the several disciplines. But this means that peculiarly theological "explanation" must not be discriminated against. From the perspective of faith, Jesus Christ remains the "intelligible event which makes all other events intelligible."

III

I should not deny that, from another point of view than the one here stressed, the disciplines under consideration stand in an alternative relationship. We may all agree that, since Christian thought is grounded in a uniquely unique event and is thus committed to "the scandal of particularity," theology may be said to lie at the opposite pole from science:

Science	History	Theology
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In this respect, theology is, so to speak, even more "historical" than history. It has found—or has been found by—an event of incomparable price. But the fact remains that a second continuum is equally in order:

Science	Theology	History
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For, as we have noted, Christian theology limits itself neither to concentration upon the event that inspires it nor to the limited generalizations proper to the discipline of history. Theology applies its event to the work of universal understanding. Its one "explanation" is, accordingly, either out-and-out falsehood—all general "theories" are subject to this fateful eventuality—or a finally valid and objective key to the life-and-death meaning of things. If it is the latter, those who subscribe to it are in fact afforded the most rational and universal "theory" that is

achievable, a "theory" which is able *ad extremum* to "exhibit systematically connections between apparently miscellaneous items of information." The outcome is ultimate wholeness:

Theology	Science	History
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Generically described, Christian theology moves about among the places allotted in the sets of terms listed. It moves from event to application, from a concrete and fundamental epistemological assertion ("I know who it is in whom I have trusted") to practical liberation ("you shall know the truth, and the truth will set you free"), and then it reverses its course. In these late years we have been nurtured upon the necessity of attending to the original event and of maintaining its qualitative integrity. Must we not remember as well that when the ecstasy of faith is isolated from any "explanatory" function, it is made irrelevant to life?

The primary motivation of this note is the persuasion that the relationship suggested by the second set of terms found above cannot be ignored. We have seen that there is at least one fundamental point at which theology is closer to science than history is. From the perspective of the considerations here advanced—and only from that perspective—we are justified in sometimes assigning the procedures of Christian theology to a place somewhere between the procedures of science and those of history.

IV

I have no more than opened the question of ways in which a given theological venture may emphasize historical method, or generalizing (systematic) method, or both methods together. Nor have I, save in passing, entered the critical area of inquiring just what it means to assert that the event of Jesus Christ affords intelligibility to all other events. The specific fashion in which Christian theology operates through the work of theologians is a matter for discussion elsewhere. However, two general considerations may be advanced:

1. It must be emphasized that the "betweenness" of theology vis-à-vis science and history is not a mere synthetic compromise. If it were, theology in its totality would simply be scientific where it was not historical and historical where it was not scientific. We have to say, on the contrary, that the "betweenness" of theology derives ultimately from its claim to "beyondness": Particularity and "explanation" are wedded in the event of Jesus Christ.¹⁰

2. Both science and history, for all their differences, at once refer to objectively occurring events and seek to interpret and understand them. The latter attempt entails subjective or ideal achievement. To the degree that contemporary theology ignores the objective side, it falls into existentialist doctism; to the degree that it ignores the subjective side, it falls into historicism.¹¹

NOTES AND REFERENCES

¹ Ernest Nagel, *The Structure of Science*, New York-Burlingame: Harcourt, Brace & World, 1961, pp. 4, 5. See also A. Roy Eckardt, "The Contribution of *Nomothesis* in the Science of Man," *American Scientist*, XLIX, 1 (March, 1961), 76-87.

² Carey B. Joynt and Nicholas Rescher, "The Problem of Uniqueness in History," *History and Theory*, I, 2 (1961), 150-162.

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 150, 151, 152.

⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 153, 154.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 160.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 154.

⁷ H. Richard Niebuhr, *The Meaning of Revelation*, New York: The Macmillan Company, 1941, p. 93.

⁸ Joynt and Rescher, *op. cit.*, p. 156.

⁹ Roger Hazelton, *New Accents in Contemporary Theology*, New York: Harper & Brothers, 1960, p. 18.

¹⁰ A basic resemblance will be noted here and above to the claim within Christian philosophy that in Jesus Christ is found an answer to the ancient enigma of "the one and the many."

¹¹ In actuality, there is nothing terribly profound in recognizing the stubborn duality of events and our reactions to them. This duality helps to characterize the human situation, and most men seem aware of it. Science, history, and—ideally—Christian theology are merely responsible professional and intellectual attempts to come to grips with the duality. The theologian may here unite with the scientist and the historian simply because they are all, presumably, human beings.

Research Abstracts

ARCHAEOLOGY (1958-1961)

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Abbreviations: AJA, *American Journal of Archaeology*; BA, *The Biblical Archaeologist*; BASOR, *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research*; CBQ, *The Catholic Biblical Quarterly*; IEJ, *Israel Exploration Journal*; JAOS, *Journal of the American Oriental Society*; JBL, *Journal of Biblical Literature*; JCS, *Journal of Cuneiform Studies*; JEA, *The Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*; JNES, *Journal of Near Eastern Studies*; JSS, *Journal of Semitic Studies*; NTS, *New Testament Studies*; PEQ, *Palestine Exploration Quarterly*; RB, *Revue Biblique*; RQ, *Revue de Qumran*; VT, *Vetus Testamentum*; ZAW, *Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft*.

1. Arabia

Gus W. Van Beek, "Frankincense and Myrrh," *BA*, XXIII (1960), 70-95.

Frankincense and myrrh trees are native only to southern Arabia and northern Somaliland. Frankincense and myrrh were used by the peoples of the Fertile Crescent and the Mediterranean for incense, perfume, and medicine. Distribution was organized by the South Arabs, and utilized various land and sea routes, including sailing routes to northwest and southwest India. If the ancient South Arabs were ever nomadic it must have been back in the middle of the second millennium B.C., for by 1000 B.C. they had a developed sedentary culture. "We can no longer think of the Minaeans, Sabaeans, Qatabanians, and Hadhramis as nomadic tribes, drifting from oasis to oasis in the Arabian Peninsula during the first millennium B.C. As early as the middle of the tenth century, Saba (biblical Sheba) was sufficiently well organized and powerful that its queen and a richly laden caravan could safely journey to Palestine, nearly 1500 miles to the north, and that a century or two later, or perhaps about the same time, it could establish colonies in Ethiopia."

2. Archaeology

Robert F. Heizer, ed., *The Archaeologist at Work: A Source Book in Archaeological Method*

and Interpretation, New York: Harper and Brothers, 1959.

This is a book of readings selected from the works of nearly one hundred authors—Woolley, Winlock, Reisner, Braidwood, Frankfort, and many others—and aimed at the illumination of archaeological technique and the interpretation of archaeological data.

John Howland Rowe, "Archaeology as a Career," *Archaeology*, XIV (1961), 49-55.

A new version of an essay first published in *Archaeology*, VII (1954), 229-236. Archaeology is the study of man's past, and one of the most difficult of all research undertakings. Training for a career in archaeology involves years of study, and employment opportunities are few.

3. Asia Minor

Johannes Friedrich, *Die hethitischen Gesetze, Transkription, Uebersetzung, sprachliche Erläuterungen und vollständiges Wörterverzeichnis*. Documenta et Monumenta Orientis Antiqui 7, Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1959.

An edition with German translation of two Hittite tablets containing legal decisions for the use of jurists.

George M. A. Hanfmann, "Excavations at Sardis, 1958," *BASOR*, 154 (Apr., 1959), 5-35.

Excavations begun at Sardis, capital of Lydia, in 1910-1914 by Howard Crosby Butler have been resumed by the Fogg Art Museum of Harvard University and by Cornell University under the auspices of the American Schools of Oriental Research and with the support of the Bollingen Foundation. The aim is to trace the urban development of Sardis through all phases of its history. Pottery extends from Early Iron through Lydian Archaic (sixth century) to Middle Byzantine (10-12 centuries A.D.). The entire terrace of the present Artemis precinct was probably first created in the fifth century B.C.

George M. A. Hanfmann, "Excavations at Sardis, 1959," *BASOR*, 157 (Feb., 1960), 8-43.

The first campaign of 1958 was reported in *BASOR*, 154 (Apr., 1959); the present article reports the second campaign of 1959. Lydian graves and an extensive Roman bathing complex were among the finds.

George M. A. Hanfmann and A. Henry Detweiler, "From the Heights of Sardis," *Archaeology*, XIV (1961), 3-11.

In 1960 the Harvard-Cornell expedition worked on the citadel of Sardis. There were bits of walls from the Lydian period (seventh and sixth centuries B.C.), a sandstone wall that was perhaps Persian, and a Hellenistic marble tower. A thousand feet below on the Pactolus River was a late Roman villa with mosaic floors.

Sherman E. Johnson, "Preliminary Epigraphic Report on the Inscriptions found at Sardis in 1958," *BASOR*, 158 (Apr., 1960), 6-11.

A Greek inscription in honor of the emperor Lucius Verus, associate of Marcus Aurelius, and dating probably about A.D. 166, calls Sardis "twice temple-warden (*neōkoros*)," probably referring to a temple for emperor worship.

4. Calendar

E. Auerbach, "Die Umschaltung vom jüdischen auf den babylonischen Kalender," *VT*, X (1960), 69-70.

In the time of Josiah (639-609) the Judean regnal year ran from 1. Heshvan to 1. Heshvan (fall to fall). From 604 on, the reckoning was from 1. Nisan to 1. Nisan. Accordingly, the adoption of the Babylonian calendar took place in the reign of Jehoiakim, and probably in his fifth year. That year began on 1. Heshvan 605 and instead of running to 1. Heshvan 604 was lengthened by five months to run to 1. Nisan 603. According to II Kings 23:36 Jehoiakim reigned eleven years, and the Wiseman *Chronicle* gives the exact time. Josiah fell at Megiddo not later than Siwan (May/June) 609, for a month later (Tammuz) the Egyptian army was on the Euphrates. Jehoahaz reigned three months (II Kings 23:31), until Elul (August/Sept.) 609. From Elul to 1. Heshvan 609, about six weeks, was the "beginning of the reign of Jehoiakim" (Jeremiah 26:1); from 1. Heshvan on was the first regnal year of Jehoiakim. Jehoiachin was captured by Nebuchadnezzar on 2. Adar (March 16) 597 after reigning (II Kings 24:8) three months and ten days. Therefore, Jehoiakim

died on 22. Heshvan (December 9) 598. Or if Jehoiachin's deposition is put at the time he was carried off to Babylon (as is probable, since otherwise Zedekiah has one year too many), that is, shortly after 1. Nisan 597 which was (II Kings 24:12) in the eighth year of Nebuchadnezzar, then the death of Jehoiakim was at least one month later. Given the lengthening of his fifth year as supposed above, this comes out to an eleven-year reign, as is required. Otherwise we reach twelve years, one too many.

Ernst E. Eittsch, "Die Gemeinderegel und der Qumrankalender," *RQ*, IX (1961), 125-133.

By beginning each quarter of the year with a Wednesday, the Qumran calendar intends to reproduce the course of the sun in the first year after creation.

Martin Noth, "Die Einnahme von Jerusalem im Jahre 597 v. Chr.," *Zeitschrift des deutschen Palästina-Vereins*, LXXIV (1958), 133-157.

Nebuchadnezzar took Jerusalem in his seventh year (598/597) on 2. Adar, i.e., March 16, 597. At that time Jehoiachin had reigned three months and ten days. Therefore, Jehoiakim had died (a natural death) on 22. Heshvan 598/597, i.e., December 9, 598. The news took 20-25 days to reach Babylon, and Nebuchadnezzar set forth at once in Kislev. Troops were probably stationed on the upper Euphrates and could reach Jerusalem by Shebat. II Chronicles 36:10, *litsubat hassana*, means the time shortly before the end of the year and agrees exactly with the Babylonian Chronicle date given above. Since Nebuchadnezzar had come abruptly and at an unusually early time in the year for a military campaign he undoubtedly had the purpose of determining the throne succession and would depose Jehoiachin and install Zedekiah, the "king after his own heart," immediately. Accordingly, the rest of the month Adar was the accession year of Zedekiah, and Zedekiah's first regnal year was 597/596. His eleventh regnal year was therefore 587/586, and the ninth day of the fourth month of this year was July 29, 587, the date of the final fall of Jerusalem. Since the months are numbered from the spring (see especially Jeremiah 36:22) it is probable that the year began in the spring too, and it may be assumed that the last Jewish kings used a regnal year beginning in the spring (not in the fall, as Thiele and Malamat suppose). The other references which put the captivity of Jehoiachin in the eighth year of Nebuchadnezzar and the final destruction of Jerusalem in his nineteenth year correspond to a method of citing Nebu-

chadnezzar's regnal years which was used in Syria-Palestine. Here it was considered that he was already king, since he was really acting in that capacity, when he came for the battle of Carchemish, and accordingly 605/604 was counted as his first regnal year rather than 604/603.

Massey H. Shepherd, Jr., "Are Both the Synoptics and John Correct about the Date of Jesus' Death?" *JBL*, LXXX (1961), 123-132.

It is agreed that in Palestine the beginning of the month was determined by observation of the new moon, but this method was probably impractical in the Dispersion where a fixed calendar must have been in use. It is probable that in the year Jesus died the Jews in Palestine observed Passover on Saturday while those in the Dispersion observed it on Friday. John followed the testimony of Christians who were in touch with priestly circles of Judea and says that the Friday when Jesus died was the preparation for Passover. Mark, as a Christian of the Roman church, followed the tradition of his own church that Jesus died on a Friday in a year when that Friday was observed in the Dispersion as the Passover.

5. *Dead Sea Scrolls*

K. M. T. Atkinson, "The Historical Setting of the Habakkuk Commentary," *JSS*, IV (1959), 238-263.

The "counsel of a guilty house" in the Habakkuk Commentary refers to the Roman Senate of the late Republican period. The required tribute of food fits the time of the Roman conquest of Syria and Judea. The cult of military standards among the "Kittim" agrees with the evidence of Roman Republican coins showing sacrifice at the foot of a military standard. Therefore, the Habakkuk Commentary was probably composed about 60 B.C.

S. A. Birnbaum, "The Date of the Incomplete Isaiah Scroll from Qumran," *PEQ* (Jan.-June, 1960), 19-26.

Is b may be dated in the first third or quarter of the first century of the Christian era.

Jean Daniélou, *The Dead Sea Scrolls and Primitive Christianity*, Baltimore: Helicon Press, 1958.

The early Christian community was immersed in a Jewish milieu akin to that of Qumran from which it borrowed many forms of expression, but the hermits were waiting for the Messiah who was not yet come, while for the Christians the Messiah

was already come. The Teacher of Righteousness was not a divine being, nor did he experience a passion and resurrection.

E. Hammershaimb, "On the Method Applied in the Copying of Manuscripts in Qumran," *VT*, IX (1959), 415-418.

Alleged mishearings in the Scrolls may be explained by the fact that the scribe often wrote from memory; or even if he followed the original with his eyes, he read it aloud in his own individual pronunciation. Therefore, nothing in the available material necessarily favors the theory of dictation in the copying of the Scrolls.

Børge Hjerl-Hansen, "Did Christ Know the Qumran Sect?," *RQ*, IV (1959), 495-508.

It seems probable that during his Messianic time of trial Jesus had personal connection with the sect at Qumran.

Bruce M. Metzger, "The Furniture in the Scriptorium at Qumran," *RQ*, IV (1959), 509-515.

A variety of artistic and literary examples shows ancient scribes standing to write while they held the writing material in the left hand, or sitting and supporting the scroll or codex on the knees. Therefore, the concave surfaced "table" and the "bench" from Qumran were more probably a bench and a footrest respectively.

William Sanford LaSor, *Bibliography of the Dead Sea Scrolls*. Fuller Library Bulletin 31 (Fall, 1958). Fuller Theological Seminary Bibliographical Series 2. Issued by The Library, Fuller Theological Seminary, Pasadena, California.

The items are arranged in three categories, with subdivisions: General Works, Qumran Texts, and Interpretation of the Qumran Literature. This arrangement by subjects makes the present bibliography a valuable supplement to the *Bibliographie* by Burchard.

J. T. Milik, "Le rouleau de cuivre de Qumran (3Q 15)," *RB*, LXVI (1959), 321-357.

A translation of the copper scroll from Cave 3 at Qumran with a topographical commentary.

Bleddyn J. Roberts, "The Second Isaiah Scroll from Qumran (1QIsb)," *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library, Manchester*, 42 (1959-60), 132-144.

This scroll provides a text which was current outside orthodox Judaism, but was essentially identical with the Massoretic text.

H. H. Rowley, "The Qumran Sectaries and the Zealots: An Examination of a Recent Theory," *VT*, IX (1959), 379-392.

Cecil Roth puts the Teacher of Righteousness in the first century A.D. and identifies him with either Menahem or Eleazar ben Jair. It is true that in the time of the Roman War as well as in the earlier time of Antiochus Epiphanes the foreign enemy and internal enemies were alike active in Palestine, but only in the former age would the internal enemies of the sect, including the Wicked Priest, have been found working with the external foe, as the references in the Scrolls presuppose. Thus a date for the Teacher of Righteousness early in the second century B.C. is more likely.

Kurt Schubert, *Die Gemeinde vom Toten Meer: Ihre Entstehung und ihre Lehren*, München/Basel: Ernest Reinhardt Verlag, 1958.

This book deals with the origin and, chiefly, the teachings of the Dead Sea community. Concerning the relation of Jesus to the Qumran-Essenes it can be said that the common milieu probably binds him together with them, yet his teaching and person go beyond their limits. There is no certain evidence that Jesus and his disciples knew the Qumran calendar; therefore, we must hesitate to solve the problem of the chronology of the Last Supper by appeal to that calendar. (An English translation of this book by John W. Doberstein was published in 1959 by Harper & Brothers under the title, *The Dead Sea Community: Its Origin and Teachings*.)

L. H. Silberman, "A Note on the Copper Scroll," *VT*, X (1960), 77-79.

In support of the theory of Milik and Mowinkel that the copper scroll preserves only an apocryphic tradition concerning hidden treasure, a haggadic work is presented which describes treasures hidden away by five great saints in Jerusalem and Babylon and states that the treasures were listed on a copper tablet.

John C. Trever, "When Was Qumran Cave I Discovered?," *RQ*, IX (1961), 135-141.

In spite of the statement by Muhammad adh-Dhib quoted by Brownlee—in *JNES*, XVI (1957), 236-239—that he found Cave I in 1945, the earlier statements and evidence that the cave was found first in 1947 are to be accepted as correct.

R. de Vaux, "Fouilles de Feshkha," *RB*, LXVI (1959), 225-255.

The Department of Antiquities of Jordan, the French Archaeological School at Jerusalem, and the Palestine Archaeological Museum, excavated Feshkha in 1958 under de Vaux. Adjacent to the spring were a large rectangular building and some other structures. The large building was probably an administrative center, and the other buildings were storehouses. Pottery and coins indicate that the history of Feshkha ran for the most part parallel with that of Qumran. Probably Feshkha was the agricultural center of the Qumran community.

P. Wernberg-Møller, "The Exodus Fragment from Massada," *VT*, X (1960), 229-230.

A parchment fragment of a phylactery found in a cave between Massada and Ein Geddi contains Exodus 13:11-16 in a text which, insofar as it is preserved, follows closely the Masoretic.

Yigael Yadin, "New Discoveries in the Judean Desert," *BA*, XXIV (1961), 34-50.

An exciting archaeological exploration in the Judean desert north of Massada used helicopters and a mine detector. In a large cave at Nahal Hever were found bones and skulls (the latter collected in baskets) of Bar Kochba's warriors; a basket of copper cult vessels probably taken from the Romans; a leather fragment of the Psalms; a bundle of letters written on papyrus, some in Greek, giving orders of Bar Kochba (Chōsiba in Greek); and also a board, cut into slats, on which was a similar order.

F. E. Zeuner, "Notes on Qumran," *PEQ* (Jan.-June, 1960), 27-36.

Radiocarbon tests of charcoal from Qumran, made in 1956, gave the date 1940 plus or minus eighty years. The wood was date palm. Allowing fifty years to the probable date of burning, the destruction of Qumran is almost certainly within the first century A.D. and probably about A.D. 66, which is a remarkable approximation to the year of the Roman conquest, A.D. 68.

6. Early Christianity

Franz Joseph Dölger, "Beiträge zur Geschichte des Kreuzzeichens I," *Jahrbuch für Antike und Christentum*, I (1958), 5-19.

The making of the sign of the cross, mentioned by Tertullian, was usual among Christians before A.D. 200. Old Testament texts cited by the church

fathers suggest that Ezekiel 9:4 provided the chief basis for this practice.

Armin von Gerkan, "Zu den Problemen des Petrusgrabes," in *Jahrbuch für Antike und Christentum*, I (1958), 79-93.

The supposed proof of an apostolic grave under the Tropaion at St. Peter's does not stand examination. If at the end of the second century there actually was accurate knowledge of what must be supposed to have been a mass burial, the place could still be found only by a fortunate accident.

Theodor Klauser, "Studien zur Entstehungsgeschichte der christlichen Kunst I," in *Jahrbuch für Antike und Christentum*, I (1958), 20-51.

The signet rings with "neutral" symbols allowed for Christians by Clement of Alexandria were already obtainable from pagan artists, and likewise the figure of a man carrying a sheep was frequent in the pagan art of the Roman period.

A. W. Van Buren, "News Letter from Rome," *AJA*, LXIII (1959), 384.

Investigation at the Church of San Pietro in Vincoli on the Oppian Hill reveals remains in the area of houses of the Middle and Late Republican periods and a palace of the Early Imperial period, perhaps of the time of Nero. The church which rose later in the area followed the orientation of the palace, and utilized a part of the same foundations. There are considerable traces of this church, the predecessor of the present structure, datable perhaps in the second half of the fourth century A.D. It was a basilica, without transepts, with fifteen columns on each side.

7. Egypt

H. Bar-Deroma, "The River of Egypt (Nahāḥ Mizraim)," *PEQ* (Jan.-June, 1960), 37-56.

The "river of Egypt" must have been the line of demarcation between Israel and Egypt. The Wadi el-'Arish is not on the boundary of either land, and has none of the features of a natural boundary line. The Nile itself must instead have been intended, and in particular the Pelusian branch which separates the Delta of Egypt from the adjacent desert to the east.

Edward F. Campbell, Jr., "The Amarna Letters and the Amarna Period," *BA*, XXIII (1960), 2-22.

The Amarna correspondence militates against the theory of a long co-regency of Amenophis III and Akhenaten. Likely dates are: Amenophis III,

1406-1368; Akhenaten, 1368-1351. 'Apiru is probably a label meaning "outlaw" or "rebellious."

Pierre Montet, *Everyday Life in Egypt in the Days of Ramesses the Great*, New York: St. Martin's Press, 1958.

Focusing on the very period which is probably of most interest from the biblical point of view, the distinguished archaeologist describes dwelling places, town and country life, travel and warfare, temples and burial rites, and the life of craftsmen, scribes, and the Pharaoh. He thinks that the Israelites labored to build Pi-Ramessu for Ramesses II. (The reference to Pi-Ramessu at this point is on p. 161 and is not in the Index.)

Donald B. Redford, "Some Observations on 'Amarna Chronology,'" *JEA*, XLV (1959), 34-37.

The chronological table for the 'Amarna Age is: Amenophis III, 1399-1360 (40 years); Akhenaten, 1360-1340 (21 years); Tutankhamun, 1340-1332 (9 years); Ay, 1332-1329 (4 years); and Horemhab, 1329-1303 (27 years). It is practically certain that Ramesses II began his reign in 1290.

M. B. Rowton, "Comparative Chronology at the Time of Dynasty XIX," *JNES*, XIX (1960), 15-22.

Astronomically, the accession of Ramesses II must have been in 1304 or in 1290 B.C. Comparison with Babylonian and Assyrian chronology indicates that of these two dates it is 1304 which must be correct.

T. C. Skeat, "Notes on Ptolemaic Chronology," *JEA*, XLVI (1960), 91-94.

These notes supplement Skeat's *Reigns of the Ptolemies*, published in *Mizraim*, VI (1937), 7-40, and revised as Heft 39 of the *Münchener Beiträge zur Papyrusforschung und antiken Rechtsgeschichte*, München, 1954.

H. M. Stewart, "Some Pre-'Amārnah Sun-Hymns," *JEA*, XLVI (1960), 83-90.

While several earlier sun-hymns may be compared with those at Amārnah, they actually provide few literal parallels and the emphasis on universalist ideas is by no means comparable.

W. A. Ward, "The Egyptian Office of Joseph," *JSS*, V (1960), 144-150.

From the correspondence of the biblical descriptions with titles known on the Egyptian mon-

uments it is probable that Joseph was not Vizier but had three titles descriptive of his actual responsibilities and three honorific titles as follows: His work of food storage would correspond to the title, Overseer of the Granaries of Upper and Lower Egypt. To be over Pharaoh's house (Gen. 41:40; 45:8) would make him Great Steward of the Lord of the Two Lands. Entrusted with the royal seal (Gen. 41:42), he would be Royal Seal-bearer. Honorary titles would be Chief of the Entire Land (cf. Gen. 41:41; 43:6; 45:8), Foremost of Courtiers (cf. Gen. 41:40) and God's Father (cf. Gen. 45:8).

8. Greece

Saul S. Weinberg, "Roman Twins: Basilicas at Corinth," *Archaeology*, XIII (1960), 137-143.

Two Roman basilicas were built at Corinth about A.D. 40 and served for over three centuries as monumental entrance, meeting place, mart, sculpture gallery, and depository of public documents. The article summarizes the fuller report in *Corinth: Results of Excavations*, Vol. I, part v.

A. G. Woodhead, *The Study of Greek Inscriptions*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1959.

An invaluable explanation of signs and symbols, forms of the Greek alphabet, classification and dating of inscriptions, and many other matters including alphabetic numerals (p. 111) and Attic months (p. 117).

9. Manuscripts

Floyd V. Filson, "New Greek and Coptic Gospel Manuscripts," *BA*, XXIV (1961), 2-18.

New manuscripts of our New Testament gospels are the John Rylands fragment of John (ca. A.D. 130); the Chester Beatty papyrus of the Four Gospels and Acts (early third century); and the Bodmer Greek manuscript of John (ca. A.D. 200). Apocryphal gospel material includes the Bodmer papyrus of The Nativity of Mary (a third-century copy of a second-century composition); the Bell and Skeat fragments of an unknown gospel (ca. A.D. 150); and the letter fragment ascribed to Clement of Alexandria (ca. A.D. 200, if genuine) which speaks of a secret gospel of Mark and gives two quotations from it. Also, three of the Coptic books from Nag Hammadi are called gospels. The Gospel of Truth (fourth or fifth century Coptic translation of a Greek original of ca. A.D. 150) is a prod-

uct of Valentinian Gnosticism and more important for the study of Gnosticism than that of the life of Jesus; but its allusions to most of the books of the New Testament are important for the study of the history of the canon. The Gospel of Philip (a fourth century manuscript based on a Greek original of perhaps the second century A.D.) contains 127 "sayings" of Jesus, but these are clearly Gnostic in type and do not provide authentic information about the teaching of Jesus. The Gospel of Thomas contains among its 114 "sayings" several previously known in Greek fragments of the third century; whether it provides authentic sayings of Jesus not previously known, or an earlier form of any sayings in the Synoptic Gospels, cannot yet be said; if there are any such, they are rare. Therefore, the real source of our information about Jesus is still our canonical gospels.

10. Mesopotamia

R. Borger, "Das Problem der 'apiru ('Habiru')," *Zeitschrift des deutschen Palästina-Vereins*, LXXIV (1958), 121-132.

Since we now know that the second consonant was *p*, not *b*, Lewy's derivation from 'br, "to pass over," must be given up. The derivation is probably from the Semitic 'apar, "earth" or "dust." It refers to ones covered with dust (from the road) and hence means "immigrant." The equivalence of 'apiru with "Hebrew" ('ibrim), whatever the meaning of the latter, must be given up.

Albert Champdor, *Babylon*, New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1958.

In the same series of *Ancient Cities and Temples* as Join-Lambert's *Jerusalem*, this book tells the story of Babylon in eloquent and sometimes poetic prose and with beautiful illustrations, some in color.

William W. Hallo, "A Sumerian Amphictyony," *JCS*, XIV (1960), 88-116.

A text from Drehem, near Nippur, reads: "Lugal-amar-kug received [three small cattle] on the twenty-ninth day of the *bala* of the *ensi* of Push, [i.e.,] the fifth month, and [sixty-seven small cattle] on the thirtieth day of the *bala* of the *ensi* of Marada, [i.e.,] the tenth month." The *bala* of an *ensi* or other city governor in the Ur III period was typically a month in length. This and other texts show that the separate Sumerian-Akkadian cities were united to supply, each in the turn of its *bala*, the economic needs of the national re-

ligious center, Nippur. Such a system may be characterized as indicating an amphictyony.

W. G. Lambert, "New Light on the Babylonian Flood," *JSS*, V (1960), 113-123.

In the Gilgamesh Epic the flood story is only incidental to the main plot, and it actually belongs to another epic, that of Atrahasis, "the Exceeding Wise One." Of the latter epic the oldest recension is found on a broken tablet of about 1700 B.C. written in Sumerian. There are also fragments of a Babylonian version of about 1550 B.C. and late fragments from the library of Ashurbanipal. There are translations of the epic material by Speiser in *Ancient Near Eastern Texts*, pp. 99-100, 104-106, and of the Sumerian prototype by Kramer in *ibid.*, pp. 42-44. The correct sequence of the scattered pieces was established only recently, however, by Laessle; cf. *Bibliotheca Orientalis*, XIII, 90-102. The outline of the epic is as follows: The great gods, Anu Enlil, and Ea suggest the creation of man, which is done by the mother goddess (Ninhursag, Nintu, Inanna, Mami, or Ishtar) with the help of Ea. Civilization is started with the founding of five cities, where eight (or nine, or ten) antediluvian kings reign. When the noise of multiplied mankind prevents Enlil from sleeping, the gods cause a famine for six years and then send a flood to destroy the undisciplined race. Ea makes this known ahead of time to Atrahasis, who builds a boat and escapes with his family. "The very considerable importance of this material is the proof it offers that the whole framework of the Hebrew traditions in Gen. i-x, and not just the episode of the flood, has its counterpart in Sumerian-Babylonian legend." Two more British Museum fragments of the epic are here published.

M. B. Rowton, "The Date of the Sumerian King List," *JNES*, XIX (1960), 156-162.

The King List is to be assigned to the period of Ur III, or close to it, perhaps a little earlier in the reign of Utuhegal, as Jacobsen thought, or a little later in the reign of Ishbi-Erra, but not two hundred years later in the reign of Urninnurta, as Kraus has recently proposed.

11. Nag Hammadi

Robert M. Grant, "Two Gnostic Gospels," *JBL*, LXXIX (1960), 1-11.

The Gospel of Thomas and the Gospel of Philip are important as witnesses to the development of Gnostic Christology, not to the teaching of the historical Jesus.

A. Guillaumont, H. Ch. Puech, G. Quispel, W. Till, and Yassah 'Abd al Masih, *The Gospel According to Thomas*, New York: Harper & Brothers, 1959.

A critical edition with commentary of the *Gospel according to Thomas* is yet to come, and this book is only a fragment of that work published now to serve as a preliminary working tool. While Codex III from Nag Hammadi which contains this Gospel must probably be dated either in the second half of the fourth century A.D. or in the beginning of the fifth century A.D., the original of the *Gospel according to Thomas* goes back much earlier. It is a translation or adaptation in Sahidic Coptic of a work which must have been written in Greek about A.D. 140. This edition gives, line by line, the text in Coptic and an English translation, as well as a list of scriptural parallels and echoes.

G. Quispel, "Some Remarks on the Gospel of Thomas," *NTS*, V (1959), 276-290.

In 1945 or 1946 farmers near Nag Hammadi found a huge collection of manuscripts, mostly Gnostic. In 1952 H. Ch. Puech established that one writing, called the Gospel of Thomas, contained the sayings of Jesus found at Oxyrhynchus in 1897 and 1903 by Grenfell and Hunt. In 1956, Pahor Labib published this gospel. It is a collection of about 114 sayings attributed to Jesus and allegedly written by the Apostle Thomas. Some of the sayings were not taken from our canonical gospels and none agrees completely with the canonical gospel text. Therefore, the Gospel of Thomas contains an independent gospel tradition, which was not influenced by and did not serve as a source for our canonical gospels. Since Clement of Rome (xxiv. 5) quotes the first words of the parable of the sower as they appear in the Gospel of Thomas rather than as they appear in the canonical gospels, some of this material is very old. Particularly where the material contains aramaisms and where there are parallels in Jewish-Christian literature, this material may be regarded as derived ultimately from the Jewish-Christian community at Jerusalem.

R. McL. Wilson, "The Coptic 'Gospel of Thomas,'" *NTS*, V (1959), 273-276.

This "Gospel" contains nearly all the sayings of the three fragments from Oxyrhynchus published by Grenfell and Hunt. It is a mixture of "orthodox" and "apocryphal" sayings. It may go back ultimately to something like Q, but in its present form is considerably later.

12. *Near East*

William W. Hallo, "From Qarqar to Carchemish: Assyria and Israel in the Light of New Discoveries," *BA*, XXIII (1960), 34-61.

An important synthesis of Assyrian-Israelite history, using Thiele's dates, the Babylonian Chronicle, etc. Unfortunately, dates are rendered by single Julian figures, such as 859, rather than by what the author himself acknowledges to be the more accurate rendering, such as 859/8.

G. Ernest Wright, "The Last Thousand Years Before Christ," *The National Geographic Magazine*, CXVIII, 6 (Dec., 1960), 812-853.

A succinct account, illustrated with paintings and photographs, of the period from the division of the kingdom to Alexander the Great.

13. *Old Testament*

"Archaeology Illustrates the Bible," *Horizon*, II (1959), 11-19.

A selection of illustrations set alongside biblical verses, from the first volume of a series entitled *Views of the Biblical World* issued by the International Publishing Company in Israel.

Millar Burrows, "The Conduit of the Upper Pool," *ZAW*, LXX (1958), 221-227.

The events of Isaiah 7, 22 and II Kings 18:17ff. probably took place in the lower end of the Kidron Valley, but doubt still attaches to the location.

Friedrich Cornelius, "Genesis XIV," *ZAW*, LXXII (1960), 1-7.

Kudur-Lagamara is a good Elamite name. For an Elamite king to move into Palestine, Babylonia would have to cooperate. Therefore, Shinar is Babylonia, and Amraphel is probably Hammurabi. Hammurabi was probably deified, and accordingly could have been distinguished from other rulers of the same name by the added *-el*. Arioch is a Hurrite name, and Tidal has long been recognized as the Hittite royal name, Tudhaliyas. After the destruction of Hattusa by Anittas, a contemporary of the Mari tablets, his successor was Tudhaliyas who could have been a contemporary of the last years of Hammurabi. Since the Hatti were in fact a conquered people, Tudhaliyas and his warriors were to them literally "the foreigners"; hence this ruler was indeed "king of Goim," i.e., of the foreigners. This title is similar to that of the Hyksos who were "rulers of the foreign lands." The reign of the Hyksos begins in Egypt around 1690/80,

i.e., in the last years of Hammurabi or the first of his successors. Hammurabi could only have moved into Palestine after his conquest of Mari, i.e., in his last years, 1694-86. What is described in Genesis 14 is the same campaign through which Egypt fell to the Hyksos, or at least a campaign of the same war. Around 1650 a tremendous earthquake destroyed the palaces of Crete as well as Ugarit and Alalakh VII. The biblical tradition puts the fall of Sodom and Gomorrah in this same time, namely in the later years of Abraham who had fought against Kudur-Lagamara. The great earthquake of this time may have ignited natural gases by the Dead Sea and caused the cities to sink beneath the southern part of that sea. The latter hypothesis awaits the confirmation which would come if these sites could be found and if it could be determined that they were destroyed around 1650.

Nelson Glueck, "The Bible as Divining Rod," *Horizon*, II (1959), 4-10, 118-119.

A summary of discoveries from the Siloam inscription to the sites in the Negev which confirm "the amazing accuracy of historical memory in the Bible." "It is worth emphasizing that in all this work no archaeological discovery has ever controverted a single, properly understood Biblical statement."

Kurt Jaritz, "Wer ist Amraphel in Genesis 14?," *ZAW*, LXX (1958), 255-256.

Amraphel may be Amut-pi-el, king of Qatna, mentioned in a letter of Zimri-Lim and contemporary with Hammurabi, while Tidal is probably Tudhaliyas I, king of Kussar; accordingly, the events of Genesis 14 may be put about 1760 B.C.

J. Simons, *The Geographical and Topographical Texts of the Old Testament*, Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1959.

This is the second volume of the *Studia Francisci Scholten Memoriae Dicata*, of which the first volume was the same author's *Jerusalem in the Old Testament*. Another truly monumental work, this discusses and endeavors to identify all geographical and topographical names in the Hebrew and Greek Old Testament.

14. *Palestine*

E. Anati, "Excavations at the Cemetery of Tell Abu Hawam (1952)," *'Atiqot*, II (1959), 89-102.

The group of tombs excavated belongs to the Late Bronze or Late Canaanite ages. Generally, in each

tomb near the legs of the skeleton were two or three covered jars each containing a dipper juglet, while several small vessels were near the skull. Bronze vessels were also found in three tombs. Not a single weapon was found in any tomb, as is true of the majority of burials of this period so far found in this country, which contrasts with the abundance of weapons in the burials of the Middle Bronze or Middle Canaanite ages. Material for dating is provided chiefly by the Mycenaean pottery, most of which belongs to Mycenaean IIIA.

N. Avigad, "Excavations at Beth She'arim, 1958," *IEJ*, IX (1959), 205-220.

The ninth season found an open structure above the catacomb and a surface cemetery. In the latter was a lead coffin, perhaps brought from Sidon.

Robert J. Bull, "A Re-examination of the Shechem Temple," *BA*, XXIII (1960), 110-119.

This temple, the largest known in Palestine before the Roman period, was excavated in part by Ernst Sellin in 1926 and by G. Welter in 1932 and now its interesting plan and large standing stones have been further studied. Pottery now gives a Middle Bronze date, ca. 1650 B.C.

Edward F. Campbell, Jr., "Excavation at Shechem, 1960," *BA*, XXIII (1960), 102-110.

This third campaign was able to find in Field VII datable Hellenistic remains which point to final annihilation of the city in 107 B.C. and, at a deeper level, a house of the eighth century B.C. probably destroyed by the Assyrians in 724; in Field VIII, remains going back to the Early Bronze and Chalcolithic periods; and in Fields V and VI, more evidence for the history of the temple and the palace complex.

M. Dothan, "Excavations at Horvat Beter (Beersheba)," *'Atiqot*, II (1959), 1-42.

Horvat Beter or Khirbet Beytar is within the boundaries of modern Beersheba. Excavations were conducted between 1952 and 1954. In Stratum I, there were rectangular rooms; in Stratum II, a circular building; in Stratum III (the earliest), cylindrical silos and a semi-subterranean house. Wheat, barley, and lentils were grown, cattle were raised, and hunting was also done. Spinning and weaving were practiced. Pottery, flint and stone tools and vessels, bone tools and jewelry, and copper ore and slags were found. This was a Chalcolithic site, and the remains show close resemblance

to the Ghassulian culture. A date for this Beersheba culture has been assumed to be in the second half of the fourth millennium B.C.E., and a C14 analysis of some charcoal gives a date of 3325 B.C.E., plus or minus 150 years.

Joseph P. Free, "The Sixth Season at Dothan," *BASOR*, 156 (Dec., 1959), 22-29.

Four levels of Iron II were excavated. Level 1 represents rebuilding of Dothan after the Assyrian invasion in which Samaria was captured (721 B.C.). Level 2 is a rebuilding, possibly after destruction by Tiglath-pileser who took Megiddo in 733 B.C. Level 3 saw rebuilding in the late ninth or early eighth century B.C. of the 10-9th century administrative building of level 4. An interesting find was a pottery coffin from the period of Assyrian occupation.

Joseph P. Free, "The Seventh Season at Dothan," *BASOR*, 160 (Dec., 1960), 6-15.

The 1960 excavation recovered a thousand objects from a Late Bronze-Iron I tomb, explored several storage bins of the ninth to seventh centuries, found house walls of the eighth century city which fell at the same time as Samaria in 721 B.C., and unearthed no less than a quarter of a million sherds.

Charles T. Fritsch, "The Link Expedition to Israel, 1960," *BA*, XXIV (1961), 50-59.

With ship and equipment specially designed for underwater exploration, this expedition studied the ancient harbor of Caesarea Maritima, the Roman capital of Palestine. The circular breakwater and northern entrance were traced, in correspondence with the description by Josephus. One complete amphora and numerous sherds of the second century A.D. were found, and a commemorative coin of the first or second century depicting the ancient port. Exploration in the Sea of Galilee found a strip of paving offshore from Magdala, and out in the lake the probable remains of a shipwreck, Roman pottery of about the first century A.D. and two oval stone anchors.

Nelson Glueck, "Archaeological Exploration of the Negev in 1959," *BASOR*, 159 (Oct., 1960), 3-14.

Report on further discoveries of sites of Middle Bronze I, Iron II, and Nabataean-Byzantine periods.

Nelson Glueck, "The Negev," *BA*, XXII (1959), 82-97.

Glueck's excavations in the Negev since 1951 show that it had civilized habitation in the Late Chalcolithic, in Middle Bronze I or the Abrahamitic period, and again in Iron II (10-6th centuries B.C.). The lack of similar evidence for Iron I (twelfth to beginning of tenth centuries B.C.) corresponds with the lack of power in Israel prior to the reign of David to establish political and economic security in this region. Again in Nabataean and Byzantine times there was flourishing civilization which came to an end only with the Mohammedan conquest.

A. Goetze and S. Levy, "Fragment of the Gilgamesh Epic from Megiddo," *Atiqot*, II (1959), 121-128.

A fragment of a baked clay tablet inscribed in cuneiform characters has been found at Megiddo, and contains a portion of the Gilgamesh Epic. The date is roughly in the Amarna age and perhaps in the fourteenth century B.C.

Philip C. Hammond, Jr., "Petra," *BA*, XXIII (1960), 29-32.

A brief history of Petra and the excavations there.

Uwe Jochims, "Thirza und die Ausgrabungen auf dem tell el-fâr'a," *Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins*, LXXXVI (1960), 73-96.

This survey of the evidence confirms the identification of Tell el-Fara with Tirza.

J. Kaplan, "The Neolithic Pottery of Palestine," *BASOR*, 156 (Dec., 1959), 15-22.

The two main phases of the Neolithic period known in the pottery of Palestine are the Yarmukian and the older Jericho IX.

Kathleen M. Kenyon, "Excavations at Jericho, 1957-58," *PEQ* (July-Dec., 1960), 88-108.

While it would take decades to excavate Tell es-Sultan completely, the main campaign has reached its major objectives and effort will now be concentrated on publication. Since the only surviving fragment of a house of the Late Bronze Age lay on the north edge of Square H III, two additional squares were opened to the north of that but they were unproductive and nothing further emerged of the Jericho of the time of the Israelite attack.

Paul W. Lapp, "Late Royal Seals from Judah," *BASOR*, 158 (Apr., 1960), 11-22.

The *lmk* stamps are probably related to a government industry (pottery or, more probably, wine) in the Hebron area in the seventh and early sixth centuries B.C.

Kenneth MacLeish, "Sea Search into History at Caesarea," *Life* (May 5, 1961), 72-82.

An expedition sponsored by the America-Israel Society, the Princeton Theological Seminary, and *Life*, and led by Edwin Link, has operated from a specially built ship in the waters off Caesarea to explore the chief port of Rome's eastern colonies. The fine city built by Herod the Great ten years before Jesus was born lies now under ten feet of sand and fifteen to twenty feet of water, the ruins extending for several miles along the shore. As traced, the underwater walls of the harbor correspond with the description by Josephus. A commemorative medal was found with a picture of the port, showing tall structures flanking the harbor entrance, and Roman ships.

A. Malamat, "Hazor 'The Head of All Those Kingdoms,'" *JBL*, LXXIX (1960), 12-19.

Hazor is mentioned in the Mari documents in such a way as to show that from the Mesopotamian point of view, the kingdom of Hazor was the westernmost center of political importance in the Fertile Crescent.

J. T. Milik, "Notes d'épigraphie et de topographie Palestiniennes," *RB*, LXVII (1960), 354-367, 550-591.

Survey of Christian sanctuaries at Jerusalem, including the now famous Dominus Flevit.

André Parrot, *Samaria: The Capital of the Kingdom of Israel*. Studies in Biblical Archaeology 7, London: SCM Press Ltd., 1958.

This volume summarizes the history of Samaria in the light of the excavations. There are useful chronological tables which follow Albright, "without depreciating" the value of Thiele's system. The burial of the head of John the Baptist at Samaria is deemed not unlikely.

J. Naveh, "A Hebrew Letter from the Seventh Century B.C.," *IEJ*, X (1960), 129-139.

Here is published the seventh-century ostrakon from Me'zad Hashavyahu, near Yavneh-Yam. Found in the guardroom of the fortress' gate, the

text gives the complaint of a harvest laborer whose garment has been confiscated even though he is innocent of the charge against him.

James B. Pritchard, "Industry and Trade at Biblical Gibeon," *BA*, XXIII (1960), 23-29.

The 1959 excavations at el-Jib gave more information about the industry and commerce of Gibeon. Wine presses, storage jars, wine cellars, and jar handles labeled with the place name of Gibeon and the names of the makers illustrate the several steps in the making and export of wine for which Gibeon was evidently famous at the end of the Iron II period.

James B. Pritchard, "More Inscribed Jar Handles from el-Jib," *BASOR*, 160 (Dec., 1960), 2-6.

In addition to the fifty-six inscribed handles from the great pool, five more jar handles with archaic Hebrew letters were found in 1959. The reading *gdr* seems to be confirmed.

James B. Pritchard, "A Bronze Age Necropolis at Gibeon," *BA*, XXIV (1961), 19-24.

The fourth season at el-Jib excavated twenty-eight more wine vats mostly of the Iron Age; and fourteen tombs of the Bronze Age in an unexpectedly found cemetery on the west side of the hill. The Late Bronze tombs supply the missing link for the occupation of Gibeon in the Canaanite period just before Joshua (Josh. 10:2).

L. Y. Rahmani, "Roman Tombs in Shmuel ha-Navi Street, Jerusalem," *IEJ*, X (1960), 140-148.

These tombs date approximately A.D. 240. Tomb I contained a lead coffin, such as was used by the upper middle class; Tomb II probably had had a wooden coffin. The woman buried in Tomb I may have been the native wife of a Roman legionary.

Lawrence E. Toombs and G. Ernest Wright, "The Third Campaign at Balatah (Shechem)," *BASOR*, 161 (Feb., 1961), 11-54.

In the 1960 campaign effort was focused on three main sectors of the tell: Field V containing the temple which must be identified with the "house of Baalberith" of Judges 9:4; Field VI which was the courtyard of the temple; and Field VII on the north side of the tell where there is particular promise of precision in stratigraphical analysis of the history of the city. House 1727 in Field VII was violently destroyed before its occupants could remove its contents, doubtless by the Assyrians ca. 724-723 B.C., shortly before the capture of Samaria in 721 B.C.

Olga Tufnell, "Hazor, Samaria and Lachish: A Synthesis," *PEQ* (July-Dec., 1959), 90-105.

The Canaanite cities at Hazor and Lachish are sealed off from the Iron Age cities which follow by a destruction layer of similar composition. Biblical and Assyrian sources combine to date the capture of Hazor by Tiglath-pileser III in 732 B.C., of Samaria by Sargon II in 722, and of Lachish by Sennacherib in 700. The excavations show that Hazor V, Samaria V, and Lachish III were burned.

G. Ernest Wright, "Samaria," *BA*, XXII (1959), 67-78.

Celebrating the completion of publication of the excavations at Samaria, Wright reviews the main results of the work, and also commends the summary by André Parrot, *Samaria*. As in another article in *BASOR*, 156 (Oct., 1959), Wright differs from Kathleen Kenyon, and thinks that Building Period I was begun by Omri and completed by Ahab, while Building Period II represents the strengthening of the summit fortifications by Jehu. Destruction at the end of Period II came from Damascus. In the same sequence Period III is dated ca. 810-750 B.C., Period IV, ca. 750-735 B.C., and Periods V-VI, ca. 735-721 B.C.

Y. Yadin, "Excavations at Hazor, 1958, Preliminary Communiqué," *IEJ*, IX (1959), 74-88.

The fourth season of excavation at Hazor was in 1958, and was the last for some time to come. Conclusions at this point: The third millennium city was confined to the tell. In the second millennium and the Hyksos period the lower city was built. "The downfall of Canaanite Hazor occurred towards the Late Bronze Age II, when the Israelites destroyed it completely; this is recorded vividly in Joshua xi and emphatically confirmed by the spade." Five Israelite cities were built there from Solomon to Tiglath-pileser III, to whom the last fell in 732 B.C.

Yigael Yadin, "New Light on Solomon's Megiddo," *BA*, XXIII (1960), 62-68.

The author carried out a short dig at Megiddo in January, 1960. It is concluded that the city IVA is not Solomonic, but was built after the destruction of Solomon's city by Shishak, the building probably being done by Ahab. The famous excavated stables were therefore not Solomon's (although that monarch may have had stables there too) but, more probably, Ahab's. Shalmaneser mentions Ahab's 2000 chariots.

S. Yeivin, "The Date of the Seal 'Belonging to Shema' [the] Servant [of] Jeroboam," *JNES*, XIX (1960), 205-212.

This seal, usually assumed to refer to Jeroboam II (ca. 788-748 B.C.), ought more probably be connected with Jeroboam I, on paleographic and artistic grounds and because of the level of its discovery at Megiddo.

15. Syria

Frank M. Cross, Jr. and Thomas O. Lambdin, "A Ugaritic Abecedary and the Origins of the Proto-Canaanite Alphabet," *BASOR*, 160 (Dec., 1960), 21-26.

Seventeen of twenty-two signs can now be traced from Proto-Canaanite pictographs to the conventional letters found in the Phoenician alphabet.

W. G. Lambert, "The Domesticated Camel in

the Second Millennium—Evidence from Alalakh and Ugarit," *BASOR*, 160 (Dec., 1960), 42-43.

A fifteenth century Alalakh tablet which has been read as referring to feeding a camel more probably mentions a stag. A Sumerian text from Ugarit mentions a "donkey of the sea" or dromedary in a list of domestic animals; hence, the dromedary was known in Southern Mesopotamia in Old Babylonian times, and may have been domesticated first in East Arabia.

16. JBR

Three items of relevance appeared in *The Journal of Bible and Religion* during the period here surveyed: H. Neil Richardson, "A Decade of Archaeology in Palestine," XXVII (1959), 91-101; Lawrence A. Sinclair, "Two Basic Principles of Biblical Archaeology," XXVIII (1960), 437-443; and H. Neil Richardson, "A New Seventh Century Hebrew Ostrakon," XXIX (1961), 3.

PSYCHOLOGY OF RELIGION (1958-1960)

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About 2,000 pages of new books, magazines and newspapers come from the world's printing presses every sixty seconds. Enough technical papers are published each day to fill seven sets of the twenty-four-volume *Encyclopedia Britannica*. To keep abreast of this tidal wave the scholar must rely upon abstracts of the current publications.

The massive stream of reports of psychological research and theorizing has been continuing unabated, producing much that is highly technical and very little related to the church's concerns. However, signs are still visible in this plethora that indicate trends worthy of note. One is struck by the way in which the work in psychology reflects some of the major concerns of our culture. We shall first refer to four aspects of this concern, then refer to certain signs of a trend away from objectivism, and conclude by noting some psychological studies of religious phenomena.

Reflection of East-West Concern

One of these aspects is the high level of interest in psychology in Russia and Red China. Many abstracts from Russian journals appear in *Psychological Abstracts*, and there is a journal of English translations of Chinese work. The first article below typifies the Russian psychological "orthodoxy" that links Lenin and Pavlov. The second shows the same linkage, with Marx added to it, in a Chinese study. The third reveals the antipathy to Freud that accompanies the Russian

reverence for Pavlov. The last in this group reveals some possible divergence in Russian thinking in its suggestion of the uniqueness and relative freedom of human consciousness.

1. Mansurov, N. S., "Trud V. I. Lenina 'Materializm i empiriokrititsizm' i problema oshchushchenii" ["V. I. Lenin's Work 'Materialism and Empiriocriticism' and the Problem of Sensation"], *Vop. Psicol.*, V, 3 (1959), 3-13.

Materialist psychology takes Lenin's theory of reflection as its ideological base. In this theory sensations are viewed as "subjective images of an objective reality" which are dependent to a degree on their "material substratum." Pavlovian theory reinforces Lenin's theory of reflection by providing the "necessary physiological foundation for a proper interpretation of the objective nature of sensations." Recent Soviet work is alluded to in support of Lenin's theory of reflection.—I. D. London (PA 3590).*

2. Tsan, Ting, "How to Develop Medical Psychology in China," *Acta Psychol. Sinica*, III, 3 (1959), 150-159.

This study asserts the importance of medical psychology in medical and prophylactic works dur-

* Abbreviations refer to *Psychological Abstracts*, Vol. XXXIV (1960); the numerals refer to the item in that volume. Permission has been granted by the American Psychological Association for the use of this material.

ing the establishment of socialism in China. Beginning with criticisms against the traditional viewpoint, which looks upon the human being as a mere biological organism but overlooks man's psychological activities, the author proceeds to animadvert on the essence of the so-called "psychosomatic medicine" developed in the medical circles of the capitalistic nations, especially in the United States. The writer seeks to demonstrate further from the historical facts of scientific development the correct solution of the problems of psychic nature and psychosomatic relationship achieved in the light of the philosophy of Marxism and Leninism and of the scientific theories of Pavlov. He then makes it clear that extremely superior conditions exist today in China for establishing and developing medical psychology. Finally, the author refers to the present condition of medical psychology in China and its applications in research. The primary task of medical psychology in China today is to collaborate with psychiatry in service to prophylaxis of mental diseases. Medical psychology is to be widely coordinated with every department of medicine and hygiene (PA 8226).

3. Bassin, F. V., "Freidizm v svete sovremennykh nauchnykh diskussii ["Freudianism in the Light of Contemporary Scientific Discussions"], *Vop. Psikh.*, IV, 5 (1958), 133-145.

Several circumstances require a re-examination of Soviet criticism of Freud. Contemporary Freudians in the West are attempting to utilize the newly discovered functions of the subcortical structures, particularly of the reticular formation, to provide a belated physiological basis for their idealist theories. This attempt should be unmasked as one which deprecates Pavlov's explanation of the role of the subcortical structures as one through which a tonic influence is exerted on the cerebral cortex. Newly uncovered evidence shows that Freud initially had planned a materialist path for himself, which fact the inadmissible speculations of his later thinking cannot deny. Because of the great cumulation of clinical and experimental evidence, one has to admit the reality of unconscious urges and motives, their conflict, and their influence on behavior. But to do this does not mean that Freudian theory is correct. Neurotic behavior, resulting from repression, may have a "logic," but not necessarily "symbolic content." And there is much more to human behavior than the resultant of a struggle between repressed subterranean forces. The problems explored by Freud are real, but their solution must be handled within the frame of Pavlovian conceptions.—I. D. London (PA 10).

4. Antonov, N. P., "Spetsifika individual'nogo soznaniia cheloveka kak vysshei stupeni razvitiia psikhiki" ["The Special Character of the Unique Consciousness of Man as the Highest Stage in the Development of the Psyche"], *Vop. Psikh.*, IV, 6 (1958), 79-88.

"The special character of man's consciousness, as an ideal reflection of the material world in man's mind, manifests itself in his attitude to the surrounding world as well as in . . . actions to achieve his ends. Unlike the mentality of animals, human consciousness not only reflects the surrounding world, but also exerts an influence on it by reshaping it through man's activities. The will and wishes, of which a man is conscious, appear to be an ideal motive which impels him to act for a specific purpose." Through consciousness "man can foresee and make plans about the results of future actions." His intent to act in one way or other is "determined by necessity and a struggle between motives and does not represent an automatic action in response to a stimulus. . . . Human consciousness, being indissolubly connected with man's world outlook, convictions, and ideas, is not governed by physiological processes taking place in the brain, but by man's way of life, his activities, and personality."—I. D. London (PA 699).

Concern for Social Problems

A second aspect of contemporary psychology's reflection of our culture is its concern with major social problems, such as delinquency, corruption, aging, race relations, and religious tensions. The first two articles that follow are concerned with the sources of delinquent behavior. One looks at the family situation, the other at the societal situation from which delinquents come. The third article is concerned with the dynamics of corruption. The fourth considers the problem of aging, and the issue of how one's anticipations about retirement affect his adjustment to it. The next article is concerned with the role of Protestant ministers in the recent racial tensions in Little Rock, Arkansas, and analyzes the response to the crisis on the part of the Protestant clergy. The final article in this section analyzes religious differences in political affiliation.

1. Berman, Sidney, "Antisocial Character Disorder: Its Etiology and Relationship to Delinquency," *American Journal of Orthopsychiatry*, XXIX (1959), 612-621.

Antisocial character disorder develops as a result of a series of experiences in which the child is often cared for in an overdetermined way for the first year of life and then, as intense oral sadism

and motor patterns of behavior require integration, the mother-child relationship fails the child. This results in the most intense hate against the mother, a hate which is defended against by denial and projection. Treatment may require a long period of time and an incorruptible, benevolent, objective relationship with the therapist. Guidance and treatment must be brought into the homes of these families, and the parents, especially the mother, must be supported in the process of socializing these children (PA 4644).

2. Kvaraceus, William C., "Some Cultural Aspects of Delinquency," *Federal Probation*, XXIII, 1 (1959), 8-12.

Seven common cultural determinants of juvenile delinquency are: solving personal-social problems through violence, the cult of pleasure and self-indulgence, anonymity of modern living, adult attitudes toward youth—a romantic but surplus commodity, nature of the adult imitative example to which youth are exposed, accent on sociability and popularity, and the urgency to succeed (PA 4653).

3. Shah, R. M., "The Dynamics of Corruption," *Journal of Educational Psychology*, Baroda, XVI (1959), 474-480.

Corruption has been a social problem for a long time. It is a wonder why it has not been scientifically investigated. Interpreting corruption as motivation by considerations other than merit or need, the author discusses its causes under such headings as: poverty, lack of social security, morality, responsibility at social vs. individual levels, and intrapersonal dynamics. A major contribution in resolving this problem would be changing social values from material to paramaterial aspects (PA 1728).

4. Thompson, Wayne E., "Pre-Retirement Anticipation and Adjustment in Retirement," *Journal of Social Issues*, XIV, 2 (1958), 35-45.

The two most important factors in the way in which pre-retirement anticipation contributes to adjustment are an accurate preconception of retirement and a favorable pre-retirement attitude toward retirement. Planning for retirement is of relatively less direct importance. Among those who lack an accurate preconception of retirement, planning impedes rather than facilitates adjustment (PA 1149).

5. Campbell, Ernest Q., & Pettigrew, Thomas F., "Racial and Moral Crisis: The Role of Little Rock Ministers," *American Journal of Sociology*, LXIV (1959), 509-516.

A role analysis of Little Rock, Arkansas, min-

isters in terms of three reference systems—the self, the professional, and the membership—reveals the behavioral adjustments of these ministers caught in the integration-segregation moral dilemma (PA 5789).

6. Glantz, Oscar, "Protestant and Catholic Voting Behavior in a Metropolitan Area," *Public Opinion Quarterly*, XXIII (1959), 73-82.

A survey was made in Philadelphia of 201 white male Protestants and 199 white male Catholics to check Lazarsfeld and Berelson's Elmira, New York, conclusions that Protestants are generally oriented towards the Republican Party and Catholics towards the Democratic Party, and that religion is more important than stratification in determining party preference. "All the Elmira conclusions were at least partially applicable to Philadelphia": at middle and lower stratification levels there was twice as much Republicanism among Protestants; such differences held in comparisons within various class-identity and politico-economic groupings. Disparities with the Elmira study were that there was no difference in political orientation between the two religious groups in Philadelphia at the top socio-economic level, and that the Republicans received more votes from older than younger Catholics in the business and white-collar groups. Within strongly business-oriented or strongly labor-oriented groups, religious affiliation seemed relatively unimportant as a determinant of party preference (PA 5844).

Concern for Selfhood

The depersonalization that we may see infecting our era apparently has called forth a third aspect of cultural reflection in psychology, that of concern for selfhood. One article deals directly with the problem of identity, while a second theorizes about the course of development of the self. A third study reveals that the concept of self becomes more stable as children grow older. Two articles deal with the effect of family difficulties on self-development. One is concerned with the effects of a neurotic parent, and the other with the effects of an absent father.

1. Maslow, A. H., "Remarks on Existentialism and Psychology," *Existential Inquiries*, I, 2 (1960), 1-14.

Subtitled "Existentialism: What's in it for us psychologists," this paper, which was presented at a symposium on existential psychology and psychotherapy at the American Psychological Association meetings in 1959, defines existentialism in terms of "a radical stress on . . . the experience

of identity." On this basis a number of conclusions are presented on the relations between American and European emphases in philosophy and psychology, and on such topics as the ideal, the self, aloneness, tragedy, science, and time (PA 6714).

2. Elkin, Henry, "On the Origin of the Self," *Psychoanalysis and the Psychoanalytic Review*, XLV, 4 (1958-59), 57-76.

The human self depends upon the biological individuality of the organism and develops through social relations with others. A theory of the ontogenetic origin of the self is presented which lends support to the existential view of man. The theory is based on empirical knowledge of infantile behavior. Total mystical experience is a re-experience of the original process of spiritual birth and creation: "the emergence of the self and of the primordial cosmos out of the chaos of sensation-feeling in the earliest, collective-erotic phase of infancy." The mythological dramas of the creation of the world reflect the psychic drama of the creation of the self in the primordial stage of individual life (PA 15).

3. Fukushima, Masaji, & Murayama, Noboru, "Jikogainen no hattatsuteki kenkyū" ["A Developmental Study of the Self-Concept"], *Japanese Journal of Educational Psychology*, VI (1958), 1-6, 60.

One hundred twenty-six children of Grades 2, 4, and 6 were used as subjects. Their social behavior, human relations, academic success, and personality were measured by self-evaluation, teacher's evaluation, mutual evaluation of the children, and each child's evaluation of how others evaluated him. Questionnaires were employed. With increase in age, the self-concept becomes more objective and stable. English summary.—S. Ohwaki (PA 2763).

4. Buck, Carol W., & Laughton, Katherine B., "Family Patterns of Illness: The Effect of Psychoneurosis in the Parent upon Illness in the Child," *Acta Psychiat. Neurol. Scand.*, Kbh., XXXIV (1959), 165-175.

Longitudinal data from family records of a prepaid medical care plan have been used to investigate the influence of minor psychiatric illness in the parent upon the health of the child. An excessive incidence of all types of illness was found among children of psychoneurotic mothers; however, when correction was attempted for differences in the utilization of physicians' services, the only certain excess was that of behavioral and psychosomatic disorders (PA 1813).

5. Lynn, David B., & Sawrey, William L., "The Effects of Father-Absence on Norwegian Boys and Girls," *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology*, LIX (1959), 258-262.

The effects of father-absence on boys and girls was investigated in Norwegian (sailor) families where the father was absent for one or two years and "compared with otherwise similar (Norwegian) families (of the same area) in which the father was present. The following hypotheses were made and generally supported by the findings: . . . father-absent boys . . . would show immaturity. . . . Being insecure in their identification with the father, father-absent boys would show stronger strivings toward father-identification . . . [and] compensatory masculinity, . . . would demonstrate poorer peer/adjustment, . . . [and] father-absent girls . . . would become more dependent on the mother than would father-present girls" (PA 2832).

Concern for Meaning and Value

A corollary of the economy of abundance and the depersonalization of our culture takes the form of a sense of meaninglessness and a breakdown in values. Psychology also reflects this aspect of culture in its concern with issues of meaning and value. Two articles treat directly the general need for meaning. One sees the search for meaning as distinctive of humanity. The other advocates the development of a "concrete sense of being" as the task of therapy (and life), rather than the maintenance of a homeostatic condition. Three articles represent the concern that psychologists themselves ought to recognize the importance of value theory. One suggests that the psychologist needs to understand it for his work. Another points out the values implicit in group therapy. The third deals with professional ethics in terms of the moral issues that arise in the practice of psychotherapy. The last article in this section studies the breakdown in the functioning of values as a part of mental illness.

1. Royce, Joseph R., "The Search for Meaning," *American Scientist*, XLVII (1959), 515-535.

A trait that marks man as distinctly human is his insistent quest for the meaning of things. Royce holds that the way in which contemporary man is clutching at straws in his search for meaning is symptomatic both of the depth of his concern and of the inadequacy of the answers which are emerging. This theme is developed primarily by elaboration of relevant material on the problems of reality and value, and the psychology of perception and personality (PA 5405).

2. Frankl, V. E., "Das homöostatische Prinzip und die dynamische Psychologie" ["The Homeostatic Principle and Dynamic Psychology"], *Z. Psychother. Med. Psychol.*, IX (1959), 41-47.

The task of the therapist is not to provide his patient with the meaning of existence but to help him find the personal and concrete sense of his being. This is in contrast to dynamic psychology (Freud) which aims at restoration of intrapsychic states. The true human being is not concerned with certain states of his psyche but with the status of the world around him (PA 3582).

3. Taylor, A. J. W., "Psychology and Values," *Australian Journal of Psychology*, XI (1959), 149-161.

It is suggested that psychologists need to consider values in their efforts to work with individuals and with society. The restructuring of value systems is frequently essential to the success of therapy. In particular, value questions intrude in the attempt of the psychologist to deal with criminal behavior. The psychologist working in this area can profit from a consideration of the contributions of law, theology, philosophy, and anthropology (PA 5105).

4. Wolf, Alexander, & Schwartz, Emmanuel K., "Psychoanalysis in Groups: The Role of Values," *American Journal of Psychoanalysis*, XIX (1959), 37-52.

Values are long-range attitudes, convictions, wishes, hopes, dreams, faith. We live and die for values. To do therapy is a value. To do group therapy is a value. Out of conflict and controversy come gains. One must examine himself and others critically. Absolutism, totalism, and exclusivism are to be rejected. Interacting with other humans is good. Flexibility and judgment are good. Educability and change are esteemed. Freedom is good. Mutual aid and cooperation are good. Whatever facilitates problem solving is good. Withdrawing into mysticism is bad (PA 3127).

5. Watson, Goodwin, "Moral Issues in Psychotherapy," *American Psychologist*, XIII (1958), 574-576.

"The first moral obligation of the psychotherapist is to be competent. The more skillful he becomes, the better he fulfills his main ethical responsibility." Four typical examples of moral issues which arise frequently in the practice of psychotherapy are specified. "One of the falsehoods with which some therapists console themselves is that their form of treatment is purely technical, so they need take no stand on moral issues. . . . The il-

lusion that our art transcends morality has kept us from forthright study of the ethical and religious disciplines. We psychologists would take a dim view of any experts in philosophy and religion who might hang out a shingle to practice psychotherapy. We would deplore their lack of training in our discipline. My thesis is that scholars in religion and ethics have a right to take an equally dim view of most psychotherapists." The "meaning and contribution of psychotherapy will be enlarged as its practitioners add to their growing technical competence a broader and deeper realization of life's persistent ethical problems" (PA 322).

6. Grisel, G., Jost, F., & Vicari, R., "Zur Dissoziation zwischen moralischen Einsicht und moralischen Verhalten beim Normalen und beim Schizophrenen" ["Dissociation Between Moral Insight and Moral Behavior in Normal Persons and Schizophrenics"], *J. Psychol. Psychother.*, V (1958), 242-255.

Many aspects of human behavior presuppose moral or ethical decisions. Ethical or moral decisions are usually based upon intellectual insight into various parts of reality and their relationship to moral values. Therefore, moral decision presupposes moral judgment, feelings of moral values, moral tendencies, and free choice. All these acts are strongly related to correct perception of objective reality. A schizophrenic who loses touch with objective reality uses different motives for his moral decisions. Therefore, his moral behavior may differ from moral behavior of a normal person. Sometimes it may appear that there is a dissociation between moral insight and moral behavior in a schizophrenic. However, a closer examination will show that a schizophrenic is making his moral decisions in relation to his reality and therefore from his point of view he does not experience such a dissociation (PA 3269).

A Trend Away from Objectivism

While many of the studies reported approach their problems in a behavioristic way, there are some signs of a trend away from a purely objectivistic approach. Such a trend is further evidence of the growing recognition in psychology of the importance of value and meaning in human experience. Some writers raise questions about the nature of their discipline and its methods, as in the first three articles below. The first urges a phenomenological approach in psychology. The second points out the ill effects of a slavish copying of the physical sciences. The third urges psychology to emancipate itself from the burden of radical empiricism. Some writers show concern

with topics that are particularly "religious." Thus, two further articles treat the subject of death, one giving a psychoanalytic analysis of the fear of death and the other reporting a study showing concern for the dying. The final article in this section deals with the rediscovery of trust in the therapeutic relationship, and likens this event to conversion.

1. Campos, Nilton, "Importancia e significado da analise qualitativa fenomenologica no estudo das ciencias sociais" ["The Importance and Meaning of Phenomenological Qualitative Analysis in the Social Sciences"], *Bol. Inst. Psicol.*, Rio de Janeiro, VIII, 7-8 (1958), 1-10.

The phenomenological method is devoid of doctrinaire preconceptions and explanatory anticipations. It encompasses wide areas of psychological knowledge, including the vast field of subjective phenomena. Investigations with this method have a great place in the study of social facts, since man lives in a social world, but at the same time this social world exists inside the human mind. Without a qualitative analysis of the mental events that occur in the intimacy of the individual consciousness, it is impossible to penetrate scientifically into the mechanisms of the interactions between the social and mental orders. Phenomenological investigations reveal how the individual, submitted to the action of the social media, thinks, feels, and reacts (PA 2856).

2. Winthrop, Henry, "Scientism in Psychology," *Journal of Individual Psychology*, XV (1959), 112-120.

Scientism assumes that the methods and assumptions which have proven successful in the physical sciences will, with modification, find equal success in the behavioral sciences. The attitudes deriving from scientism and some counter-approaches to it are discussed (PA 3599).

3. Feigl, Herbert, "Philosophical Embarrassments of Psychology," *American Psychologist*, XIV (1959), 115-128.

Philosophers "can fulfill a useful auxiliary role . . . in collaborating with productive scientists . . . as critics and catalysts." Theories "so conceived as to be irrefutable by any sort of evidence" constitute a methodological embarrassment for psychology. "The quest for certainty, the craving for infallibility, has produced the embarrassments of emptiness and circularity." The "most painful philosophical embarrassment of psychology" is "the definition of its very subject matter. . . . The embarrassment of unanswerable questions can be avoided if we do not introduce absolutely uncon-

firmable entities into our theories." In theory construction, psychology's embarrassment is a methodological one. "The time has come to emancipate ourselves from the radical empiricism of the operationists and the behaviorists. A more liberal view of the nature of scientific theory will help us more adequately and clearly to assign to psychology its proper place in the uniting sciences and to remove many of the philosophical embarrassments that have stood in the way of scientific progress" (PA 3715).

4. Wahl, C. W., "The Fear of Death," *Bulletin of the Menninger Clinic*, XXII (1958), 214-223.

The fact of death yields neither to science nor to rationality; men resort therefore to magic and to irrationality. The fear of death, or specific anxiety about it, has almost no description in the psychiatric literature. If we are to understand death and its fear, "we must understand the mind of the child, which is the place where the fear of death first manifests itself." It appears with the development of concept formation and of guilt, both of which antedate the Oedipus complex. Infantile omnipotence may enable the child to isolate the possibility of death from himself; but it may also lead him to experience guilt when others are injured or die. Meanwhile, parents treat death as a tabooed area (PA 2618).

5. Cappon, D., "The Dying," *Psychiatric Quarterly*, XXXIII (1959), 466-489.

Analysis of nineteen patients in an experimental group and eighty-six patients in seven control groups. "The study of the psychology of those dying patients was focused on developing an understanding of the process and aimed for the emergence of criteria on which to base meaningful communication with the dying" (PA 7724).

6. Weigert, Edith, "Rediscovery of Trust," *American Journal of Psychoanalysis*, XIX (1959), 33-36.

"Through the clouds of obscuring self-isolation and defensive pseudo-attachment break the rays of creative understanding. They lead to the rediscovery of trust." In a rediscovered relation of trust, the patient is able to unfreeze his defenses against anxiety and loneliness. This turns the subjective experience from despair of non-being to the hope of being (PA 3308).

Religious Phenomena

A fair number of articles were published reporting various psychological studies of religious phenomena. A few representative abstracts are

given below. Three of them focus primarily on the individual's religious experience. The first suggests that religion involves a forward-looking time-orientation. The second emphasizes the Protestant emphasis upon individual identity. The third reports a study revealing that adolescents with high religiosity had greater self-affirmation than those with low religiosity. The fourth article in this group focuses on the regulatory function of religion, dealing appreciatively with the controls for individual behavior which religion supplies. The two final articles report predominantly sociological studies of religious institutions. One finds that the reasons for church membership in the United States are primarily secular. The other explores the impact of the urban situation and the effect of suburbanization upon church participation.

1. Klee, James B., "Religion as Facing Forward in Time," *Existential Inquiries*, I, 2 (1960), 19-32.

A survey of the problem which emerges "once a creature is seen to exist in time as well as to have a sense of time (or timing)." Biological phenomena—the tropism, an "orienting action" which serves to position the organism for the next ensuing event, and the instinct, which releases a temporally extended behavioral pattern on the basis of a simple signal—provide evidence for the "drama" as opposed to the mere mechanical sequence of life. On the human level, understanding of the temporal contexts of the creativity of signs and signals and of work leads to the conclusion that religion represents the "furthest leaning forward in time, the greatest displacement of the vital center forward into the future" (PA 6694).

2. Bowers, Margaretta K., "Protestantism and Its Therapeutic Implications," *Ann. Psychother.*, I, 2 (1959), 6-14.

"One of the cornerstones of Protestant religious ideation is the importance of the individual. . . . The Protestant has no need of a mediator between himself and his God. This type of value system offers a healthy mature individual an opportunity to find for himself a mature and good religion, but for the less fortunate immature person, it offers many pitfalls" (PA 7757).

3. Strunk, Orlo, Jr., "Relationship between Self-Reports and Adolescent Religiosity," *Psychological Reports*, IV (1958), 683-686.

One hundred thirty-six "high school students were given a modified form of the Brownfain Self-Rating Inventory and the Religiosity Index. . . . A significant difference in religiosity was found between the high and low self-report scorers

[on the Brownfain Self-Rating Inventory], those adolescents with a relatively affirmative self-report tending to score higher on religiosity than the less affirmative self-report scorers. $r = .32$ between self-reports and religiosity scores. . . . Since these relationships appear to contradict results of some classical studies in the psychology of religion, and interest in understanding the significance of value schemata in the formation of the self-concept is growing, further research in the psychology of religion is urged" (PA 2055).

4. Ostow, Mortimer, "The Nature of Religious Controls," *American Psychologist*, XIII (1958), 571-574.

"Religion is certainly one of our most important institutions for influencing human behavior. Since religions, of one form or other, occur so regularly in almost all known human societies, one may examine the proposition that religion performs an important biologic function for the group, which creates survival value for the religion." Five devices "by means of which behavior can be influenced: imitation, communication of affect, intervention in the pursuit of instinctual gratification, obedience, and disarming by vulnerability" are discussed with reference to organized religion. A sixth mechanism, "controlled regression," is "encouraged by religion to facilitate the regulation of behavior." On the assumption "that we are able to learn and to use effective technics of behavior regulation, are we sure that we can use them more wisely than religion has?" (PA 1640).

5. Moberg, David O., "Säkularisierung und das Wachstum der Kirchen in den Vereinigten Staaten" ["Secularization and the Growth of Church Membership in the United States"], *Kol Z. Soziol. Soz.-psychol.*, X (1958), 430-438.

One hundred seven new Baptist church members studied show that the primary factors in increased church membership are secular (PA 2933).

6. Zimmer, Basil G., & Hawley, Amos H., "Suburbanization and Church Participation," *Social Forces*, XXXVII (1959), 348-354.

From data previously collected in a larger study of almost 700 household heads in the Flint, Michigan metropolitan area, a number of findings emerge. In terms of frequency of church attendance, place of residence is closely related to religious participation. Church attendance for both Catholics and Protestants is much lower in the fringe area than in the central city. Many other relationships are cited (PA 4282).

Book Reviews

A FINAL WORD

Ethics and the Gospel. By T. W. MANSON.
New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1960.
109 pages. \$2.75.

The death of T. W. Manson in 1958 removed from our midst an honored biblical scholar and a sincere Christian. It is rather fitting that in this final published word from him we should be confronted with an effort to define the foundation of Christian ethics by means of a study of Jesus and Acts set within the framework of the thought of the Old Testament and of Judaism. The material consists of lectures delivered in 1952 and 1953 prepared for publication by Ronald Preston.

Of particular merit in the writer's treatment of Hebrew and Jewish thought is his constant interest in having us see it at its best. If we are accurately to estimate the relationship between Jesus and his heritage, we must work on that level. Contrasting the Hebrew and the Greek approaches to religion and ethics, Manson finds the chief feature of the former in "the intense awareness of corporate solidarity" which involved a keen sensitivity to the holiness of God. Employing Hebrew kingship for purposes of comparison, the author points out that God's requirements were always stressed as much as his gifts. Appreciation for all that God had done and was still doing for Israel inspired respect for his holiness. This became expressed in the governing motive of all ethical action in Judaism, namely, the desire to please God and to respond to his love. The Torah defined what God required, and it had two main characteristics: Undivided loyalty to God came first, followed closely by full respect for human personality. At its best, Jewish thought considered observance of the

Law acceptable only when pure motivation merged with commandment and when the Law was observed "for its own sake."

Against this background the New Testament conception of the foundation of Christian ethics is declared to be simply that of following Christ. This means to take the two great commandments of Jesus' exhortation seriously, but also to be aware that this is not enough. To be told that one must achieve an impossible ideal is not Good News, and Jesus brought Good News. He brought an answer not just to the problem of defining what goodness is, but to the second problem of ethical living, that of finding power to put our best insights into action. What the New Testament offers with regard to the problem of a moral dynamic is the achievement of Jesus which we are to share. To be sure, his completely unselfish life, in which the best ethical insights of his heritage became flesh, does help us to define what loving our neighbor means. It does set a standard to be achieved. But his fulfillment of the Hebrew scriptures consisted of more than this. It was a "going beyond them in action" in such a way as to inspire as well as to lead. Interpreting Jesus' role characteristically in terms of the Suffering Servant, Manson sees the challenge to Jesus' followers one of considering themselves as expendable for the common good as Jesus considered himself to be. Following Jesus in this way, however, must be creative. Mere legalism or mere mechanical imitation of Christ will not suffice. "Creative initiative," based upon the Old Testament and instructed by the words and deeds of Jesus, must produce "something new and original"—in the last resort, "a work of art."

Perhaps the most interesting and significant aspect of these lectures is the explicit

way in which Manson has reacted to recent trends in gospel study. Much that he says he has said before in earlier writings, even though this restatement has great value. With regard to the debate about the "quest of the historical Jesus," however, we have here his most direct observations. Central to his main theme is the presupposition that we not only need to recover but we can recover sufficiently the mind of Jesus of Nazareth. Manson accepts the fact that during its transmission the gospel tradition was adapted in any number of ways to the needs and circumstances of the growing and expanding church. His respect for the treatment of the parables by Dodd and Jeremias indicates that. However, Manson takes the middle of the road. Neither the skepticism of Bultmann nor the conservatism of Riesenfeld would please him. He sees significance in the fact, evidenced by the Gospels, that the early Christians not only remembered Jesus but tried to understand him as well. This, he believes, gives us the chance to confront the essential thought and achievement of Jesus of Nazareth.

Manson's attitude toward the Sermon on the Mount illustrates his point of view. To him it is a "genuine composition" in contrast to a "compilation" (according to the older literary criticism) or a "fabrication" (the implicit view of recent radical criticism). Reacting favorably, if critically, to both Dibelius and Windisch, he concludes that, taking the Sermon as a whole, we get "a fair picture of Jesus' attitude to, and his understanding of, the Jewish spiritual heritage," with the addition of the "deeper insights of Jesus himself."

Here, then, is the word of a great scholar telling us to keep perspective in our evaluation of the gospel materials. To those who are sponsoring the so-called "new quest," Manson's position will undoubtedly appear too far to the right. To those who have never believed that the old "quest" ever ceased, despite the necessity of adjusting perspectives, he may

seem to give away too much. Perhaps the truth actually does lie somewhere between, and perhaps Manson's great contribution may be that of helping us to balance the scales in a reasonable manner. In any event, most of us, like this reviewer, will surely be grateful for this last word from one to whom they already owe much.

DONALD T. ROWLINGSON

Boston University

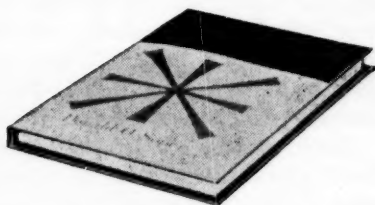
NEW TESTAMENT

The Mind of Jesus. By WILLIAM BARCLAY.
New York: Harper & Brothers, 1961.
x + 340 pages. \$5.00.

William Barclay, lecturer in New Testament at the University of Glasgow, does an amazing amount of writing. This book was published by SCM Press in two volumes in England. Its origin was a series of articles in *The British Weekly* which have been "extensively rewritten." Its aim is "to understand the mind, work and meaning of Jesus." Barclay does not claim anything new but undertakes "to set down the picture of Jesus as I see it and to set out what he means to me" (p. ix). However, a more accurate title would be *Jesus According to Barclay*. For what we have here is an opportunity to read the fertile, informed, and devout mind of a contemporary interpreter.

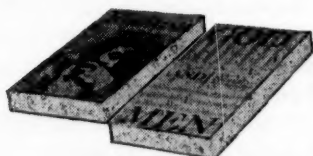
The thirty chapters of the study, many with striking headings, begin with Jesus and his Temple visit at twelve years of age, cover his entire career, and conclude with "Jesus Christ Is Lord," a fifteen-point study of "Lord," including the Virgin Birth. "I do not think that we are intended to take the Virgin Birth literally" (p. 332). This is almost the only place where the viewpoint is not essentially conservative. The chapters are, generally brief but there are some curiously uneven exceptions. The longest one, "Looking at Jesus," evaluates the *work*, not the *mind* of Jesus and runs to thirty-five pages, including catenae of quotations from

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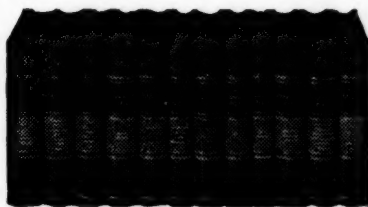
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church and classical sources. Other long chapters discuss the miracles and the Resurrection. A block of six chapters, all dealing with "love," portrays the period of Jesus' final journey to Jerusalem, through the Last Supper. This invests the period with a strait jacket hardly in keeping with the Synoptic presentation.

The volume is an interesting blend of information and interpretation. Barclay's claim that his work is based on the Synoptics, "and only very occasionally have I gone beyond that material" (p. ix), cannot be allowed in view of the actual size and scope of the book. The Fourth Gospel and Paul's writings are often cited and expounded. An extraordinary amount of historical and legendary information is gathered from the Old Testament, the New Testament, the apocryphal gospels, the Greco-Roman world, and the Church Fathers. This information accompanies and illuminates the summaries of the contents of the Gospels, sometimes in such confident detail as to raise serious doubts of their relevance to the time of Jesus and serious questions about the sources of unidentified quotations. Of course, there are many sources which are properly identified. Snatches of poetry and stanzas of hymns illustrate the ideas behind Jesus' life and thought. A fascinating use of imagination often stirs the pulses of devotion as Barclay sets a superb example of what and how to preach about Jesus. Always the writer preserves the relevance of the mind of Jesus to the life of our day.

The methods of a skilled teacher are clearly reflected in excellent numbered lists of ideas, the use of italics for emphasis, the extensive word studies, the transliterated Greek and Latin terms, the thorough analyses of concepts, the contemporary illustrations, and the frequent repetition of words, phrases and ideas. However, while repetition may impress important points on the reader, it is much overdone throughout the book. Space forbids quotation but dozens of

instances could be cited. Probably the originally separate articles in *The British Weekly* required this parallelistic method, but its use in a single volume has only made for wordiness and duplication. Yet the style remains clear, effective, and readable, and many a sentence is neatly quotable. One's admiration rises at the ingenuity and the fervor that can explore and exalt the mind of Jesus.

Barclay exhibits a wide ranging and competent scholarship. He presents the views of other scholars both appreciatively and critically. Relatively few modern interpreters are discussed but there is a wealth of citations from ancient writers. The author knows the methods and the results of critical biblical scholarship but he ignores completely the range of form-critical viewpoints. He refers briefly to Keim and to Jeremias but there is no recognition of the contribution of such scholars as Dibelius, Bultmann, and Bornkamm. This is a serious omission. Barclay's approach to the study of Jesus is outmoded. He expounds the reports in the Gospels about the mind of Jesus but makes little allowance for the mind of the early followers of Jesus who shaped these very traditions. This is not to say that the peculiarities of the four gospel writers are not recognized. But their reports are accepted without question as accurate portrayals of the mind of Jesus. The truth is that many devout imaginings have been fashioned from this mind. While such imaginings may convey spiritual truths, the reader is here left largely unaware that many teachings *about* Jesus are probably not the mind *of* Jesus. The result is what Cadbury has called "the modernizing of Jesus' inner self," even though one that is given a realistic setting with lifelike details from Jesus' time.

One of the most difficult aspects of Jesus' thought receives little attention in this book. The words, "eschatology" and "apocalyptic," do not even appear in the index. Jesus' teachings about the future are confined to his anticipations and preparations for his

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death. The Kingdom is equated with the doing of God's will by the individual, on earth as in heaven. There is to be a future consummation of the Kingdom, but the first-century interpretation of the End, which Jesus shared, is virtually by-passed by the author.

In a book of great detail, the accuracy of specific historical points will naturally be questioned. Thus Barclay accepts too uncritically certain numbers provided by Josephus. Although no accurate census reports are available, it is doubtful that Galilee alone had a population of three million or that 2,700,200 came to a Passover in Jerusalem (pp. 40, 184). Further, it is sheer guesswork to posit a terrible sin by Lazarus from which he had to be raised to new life (p. 86). And to build an elaborate picture of the Sanhedrin procedures according to Mishnah and Tosefta and to introduce the rules of criminal procedure from Salvador, a Spanish Jew of the seventeenth century, and from Maimonides of the twelfth century, is to provide no historical assurance at all concerning the trial of Jesus. These examples could be multiplied many times. Nevertheless, such details do not seriously impede the main informative and inspirational drive of this book.

DWIGHT MARION BECK

Syracuse University, Emeritus

A Historical Approach to the New Testament. By FREDERIC R. CROWNFIELD. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1960. xii + 420 pages. \$5.50.

Dr. Crownfield's well-organized and tightly-written book covers a familiar field in competent and up-to-date fashion. The author is resolutely non-theological. He aims to present the New Testament documents as they appeared in their original setting, but he gives a good deal of attention to setting forth the religious content of the New Testament.

New historical data are well-presented, particularly the Qumran materials and the Gospel According to Thomas. Crownfield holds nonetheless that Jesus is better understood in relation to normative Judaism and the Gospel of John in relation to Hellenistic Judaism.

A Historical Approach to the New Testament is carefully planned for the beginning student, though not written down to him. Political and social background, religious views in the context of environment, problems of the origins of the various books, and the central ideas of each New Testament writing are all discussed in a way that honestly and squarely confronts the difficulties presented by historical study. The plan of the work is to discuss each group of books twice, first dealing with their authorship, setting and date, and then their content. Very seldom is a term introduced without an explanation of its meaning. An excellent bibliography for further reading concludes the book.

As one would expect, the largest space is given to Jesus as presented in the Synoptic Gospels (pp. 47-201, including background material), and the next largest amount to Paul (pp. 205-314, including background on the Greco-Roman world). There is every reason for these parts of the New Testament to receive primary attention in an introductory book, but one cannot help regretting the consequence that Hebrews, Revelation, and even the Gospel of John (pp. 332-35, 370-85) receive such brief treatment. Indeed, as is perhaps inevitable in such a work, all the rest of the New Testament, including the shorter letters of Paul, is presented so compactly that this work can serve only as the barest introduction.

Some of Crownfield's specific positions may be noted. He holds that much of Jesus' teaching can be known, but not much about his career. For example, he refrains from choosing any hypothesis on the original meaning of the Last Supper. Jesus' view of

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chapter range from the historical and archeological materials such as the Elephantine Papyri and the descriptions of the Essenes in ancient literature, to the Rule of the Society of Jesus and the oldest Baptist Confession of Faith. These source materials are integrated with the text and with the Questions for Study and Discussion which appear in each chapter. 1961. 534 pp. \$6.00

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his own mission is obscure, but one judges that on the whole Crownfield is rather confident that Jesus understood his task to be "prophetic" rather than in any sense "messianic." The eschatological nature of Jesus' message is set forth, while the central meaning of his message for the modern reader may be suggested by part of the concluding summary:

Despite Jesus' presentation of his message in terms of concepts familiar in first-century Judaism—in-
evitable, if it was to be meaningful to those who
heard it—it still speaks strongly of God's sov-
ereign will and man's duty to accept that will and
follow it wherever it may lead and at whatever
cost. His message challenges us to give our al-
legiance and trust to a God who gives good gifts
to his children and who, despite the absoluteness
of his demands, freely forgives the repentant sinner
and even seeks him out while he is still in his sin.
It shows us one whose loyalty to such insight cost
him his life, and who, though reviled, reviled not
again. Finally, it leaves us with the ultimate ques-
tion: Was this life and this teaching the expression,
under the conditions of human life, of what God
really is? Was Jesus' very humanity divine? (pp.
188-89).

Dr. Crownfield does not hesitate to chal-
lenge many popular interpretations of the
New Testament. For instance, he indicates
that "Father" may have been a favorite
name of God for Matthew rather than for
Jesus (p. 169, n. 8). He holds that the
"Hellenists" were converted Gentiles, so
that there was a very early Gentile Chris-
tianity in Jerusalem of which Stephen was
an example (pp. 198-200). He adopts John
Knox's chronology for Paul's life (p. 259),
but supports Rome as the most probable
place for the imprisonment epistles (p. 250);
I Peter probably is to be dated at Trajan's
persecution (p. 326).

In sum, the author does what he sets out
to do in most competent fashion. One cannot
help wondering, however, whether his inter-
pretation of the meaning of New Testament
books does not move further from the
"purely historical" than he himself believes.

There is certainly a place for straightforward
historical study. But the interests and con-
cerns—indeed, the theology—of the historian
have more to do with his finished presenta-
tion than Crownfield is ready to grant. The
reader cannot admire too much the honesty
and historical rigor which compel the writer
to reject what he finds incorrect in tradi-
tional interpretation. And it is well for every
student, even the beginner, to face the real
historical problems. Yet the fact remains that
when early Christianity is reconstructed as
a historical phenomenon, the interpreter
thereby confronts the task of giving this
phenomenon meaning in our modern world.
Crownfield himself does not hold back at this
point, and rightly so, as can be seen in the
quotation above. His own orientation comes
to light again in the final sentences of the
book, on I John 4:20 ("God is love"),
where he states that the author of that book
"brings to expression for the first time in
history a far-reaching idea. To understand
its meaning is to understand the New Testa-
ment" (p. 386).

An examination of these points of relevant
meaning in the New Testament leads di-
rectly into the theological realm, with which
the historical realm stands in constant
dialogue.

WILLIAM A. BEARDSLEE

Emory University

The Church in the Thought of Jesus. By
JOSEPH B. CLOWER, JR. Richmond: John
Knox Press, 1960. 160 pages. \$3.50.

Modern scholarship has often urged that
no direct relationship between the church
and the historical Jesus can be established.
The present work purports "to exhibit the
evidence in the Synoptic Gospels which
shows that Jesus anticipated the Church and
that He indicated the essential features of
it" (p. 9). In fulfilling this purpose, the au-
thor begins by presenting the Hebrew and
Jewish heritage which influenced Jesus' view

of the divine community. Clower believes that the Old Testament prophets exercised a positive influence, while contemporary Judaism stood in conflict with the thought of Jesus, who opposed the Sadducees for their preoccupation with ritual, the Pharisees for their stifling legalism, and apocalyptic thinkers for their literalistic eschatology. However, in this section, the author scarcely does justice to the values of first-century Judaism, and at the same time he somewhat distorts the portrait of Jesus by depicting him against the background of his opponents. The appraisal of apocalyptic is so negative that little room is left for a positive evaluation of the eschatology of Jesus. Thus Jesus' view of the end is so reinterpreted that the time element is almost entirely excised, apparently on the basis of the questionable methodological assumption that Jesus could not have been wrong (cf. p. 75). Clower is correct in pointing out that the ethic of Jesus is concerned with mundane matters, so that the extreme apocalypticism of Schweitzer is not warranted. Nevertheless, his own interpretation of entering the Kingdom as merely accepting the rule of God—a possibility which presumably always was and always will be at hand—really robs the eschatology of Jesus of its historical element and thus makes Jesus guilty of the same lack of concern for history which Clower finds so reprehensible in apocalypticism (cf. p. 66).

The next section of the book deals with Jesus' own view of his mission. Clower concludes that Jesus felt himself called to a unique mission, and this is tantamount to a messianic consciousness. Although the "messianic secret" is not discussed as such, the author asserts that Jesus' reluctance to accept any messianic designation was due to his unwillingness to have his mission misunderstood. The terms by which Jesus understood his role are "Suffering Servant," "Son of Man," and "Son of God." In discussing the Servant, Clower occasionally gives the impression that Isaiah 53 is a primary source

for the history of Jesus. His interpretation of the enigmatic Son of Man is presented against the background of Daniel where the corporate representative idea is given precedence; no mention is made of Enoch. In his discussion of the Son of God, as in much of this section, the author fails to distinguish between the views of the historical Jesus himself and the confession of the early church about the nature and work of Christ. Pericopes which obviously evidence a later situation in the life of the church are uncritically used as sources for Christology. For instance, Clower says, "In the contemporary theology of His day, 'Christ' was not synonymous with 'Son of God'; with Jesus they were one and the same" (p. 103). While the Form-critics do not have all the answers in this area, their questions cannot be so easily ignored.

Professor Clower correctly concludes that the distinctive message of Jesus is the proc-

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lamation of the Kingdom of God, although, as we have noted, he neglects the eschatological element. For him, to enter the Kingdom is to accept the eternal rule of God in one's life. This is to make the coming of the Kingdom more a matter of human response than of divine initiative. On the other hand, needed emphasis is placed on the importance of ethics, although there is a slight tendency to understand the ethical teachings of Jesus as universally valid moral principles rather than as the announcement of the eschatological demand of God.

In the last two chapters, Clower draws out the implications of his earlier analysis for the main topic of his book, Jesus' view of the church. The author is quite right in insisting that this subject cannot be approached directly, and, accordingly, he makes no attempt to discover a thorough ecclesiology in the mind of the Master. Nevertheless, one wishes that Clower would have come more directly to this central concern earlier in the study and that more space could therefore have been given to the call and mission of the twelve and to the problematic character of a Gentile mission. There is also evidence here that the author has read back post-Pentecost concepts into the thought of Jesus, for he even suggests that Jesus had a view of the church as "His Body" (p. 153). This, of course, is a more serious matter than mere methodology; such an interpretation fails to see that the resurrection faith is basic to the life and understanding of the church.

All in all, this is a very well-written book and it deals with an important question. Professor Clower is not without cognizance of the major issues of biblical scholarship, although those who assume that no important New Testament research is done west of the Rhine Valley will be disappointed to discover that no work of recent German scholarship is cited in the notes. Yet the author has obviously not sought to present a work of technical research, but rather to speak to

a crucial issue in a relevant manner. He accomplishes this goal.

WILLIAM BAIRD

The College of the Bible

THE STORY OF BIBLE TRANSLATION

Translating the Bible. By FREDERICK C. GRANT. Greenwich: Seabury Press, 1961. vii + 183 pages. \$4.25.

Of "translating the Bible there is no end," as Qoheleth might have said. And this is as it should be, since the task is never finished, for reasons which all readers of this *Journal* know well.

It is proper, as Dr. Grant introduces his subject, to start with the various motives for rendering the Bible into new tongues. First mentioned is, of course, the missionary motive, coupled with the fact that the appearance of the Bible in a new language often marks the genesis of a written language for many peoples. But "it is clearly evident that from the very beginning the chief motive which led to the translation of Scripture has been the education and edification of the religious community, the congregation."

The author presents not a dry recital of the history of translations but a lively account with many touches of human interest and with brief critical evaluations. He covers the period from the earliest translations of the Hebrew Bible to the appearance of the two latest English translations.

Beginning further back than the usual point of departure, Grant—despite the hesitancy of many scholars to accept the historicity of the incident—recalls us to the time when "Ezra, the priest, the scribe, insisted upon the Torah being well understood, i.e., both translated and expounded. . . ." Was this the Pentateuch, as the author surmises? The scene is certainly a dramatic and unforgettable one, in any case. And "it was out of this first oral translation of the Torah that the old Palestinian Targum developed,"

to be supplemented later by other targums on the Torah and the prophets, all of which were originally also oral and paraphrastic. Here the author calls attention to the Prologue (fully quoted) of our Ecclesiasticus, which throws light "upon the problems of translation, both ancient and modern."

In taking up the Greek Bible, Grant makes reference to the apocryphal "Letter of Aristeas" concerning the writing of the Septuagint translation, calling it a "typical piece of propaganda, designed, as Dr. Kahle and others think, to win support for one particular Greek version of the Torah by representing it as old, official and authorized. . . ." Incidentally, it was Aristeas who used the term "the Bible" for the first time.

As a result of the use of the Septuagint by the Christians, who "turned its inspired locutions against the Jews themselves (Isa. 7:14 an example), the latter began providing themselves with more literal translations." So many versions of the Septuagint appeared

that one suspects that "there probably never was a single 'Septuagint' text, but a whole series of Greek translations, revisions, modifications and amplifications," which the author prefers to call "the Greek Bible." Grant credits the use of lectionaries in the church with having had a great influence on the formation of the church's biblical canon. The synagogue first used the Old Testament in this way, employing the haftarahs and parashas, and the church followed suit with its "lessons."

As for the Latin Bible, the interest centers, of course, on Jerome's Vulgate, about which the author provides much engaging data on the need for replacing the Old Latin New Testament, copies of which had been proliferating and which showed a great variety of styles, vocabulary and even content. In private hands some copies had been subjected to interpolations from other Gospels and additional changes had been made.

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Grant considers translations from before Wycliffe's Bible through the King James Version, the English Revised Version and the American Standard Edition ("not the 'American Revision,' as it is often called"). He makes brief reference to the purposes of the last two versions, and describes the public reactions to them, returning near the end of his book to a discussion of the use of "Jehovah" in the last-named version. But first he treats modern translations of parts or the whole of the Bible, from about 1898 to 1954. In this same chapter attention is also given to the Revised Standard Version and to the New English Bible, but these are quite briefly discussed, with little more involved than the purposes of these productions and the lists of scholars serving on the committees. In the case of the first, frequent references, mostly favorable, to the RSV on earlier and subsequent pages more than make up for the brevity here. And perhaps it was too early to furnish considered evaluation of the New English Bible, since this had scarcely reached the United States when Dr. Grant wrote the present volume and it is still limited to the New Testament.

The final chapter is given to discussion of textual problems, principles of translation and other special problems, and it is therefore somewhat more technical. But many appropriate illustrations from the various versions are offered, thus easing the reader's way. This chapter, with its many wise suggestions, too varied and numerous to detail here, may well serve as guidance to any who may be called upon to share in such projects in the future.

Through his interest in liturgical matters and his insistence that "the Bible is the church's Book," the author reveals himself as a committed churchman. As such, he calls for a revision of the Book of Common Prayer, "right away," so as to "bring the translation of Holy Scripture that appears in the Prayer Book into greater accord with the best modern scholarship."

Written in Dr. Grant's customarily clear and straightforward style, and packing a great deal of stimulating and informative material into small compass, this book is well worth reading and possessing.

JOHN W. FLIGHT

Haverford College

THEOLOGY AND PHILOSOPHY OF RELIGION

Protestant Thought and Natural Science. By JOHN DILLENBERGER. Garden City: Doubleday & Company, 1960. 310 pages. \$4.50.

This is an important book on an important theme. Although many books have been written on the relations between Christian faith and science, few have attempted to give an interpretative historical survey of the changing currents of thought on this theme from the Protestant Reformation to the present. This book does so. The greater part of it consists of eight historical chapters which indicate what happened, and why, from the Copernican revolution through the impact of Darwinism. Two concluding chapters bring the issues to the present by outlining the major revolutionary changes now current in both theology and science with some warnings and suggestions on the part of the author.

The historical section, with an exception to be noted in the next paragraph, is very well done. It is in quite a different vein from Andrew D. White's monumental *History of the Warfare of Science with Theology in Christendom* which was first published in 1895 and is still read. Dillenberger deals more with basic theological currents and less with concrete challenges to lay thinking than did the author of the earlier book. Although this volume may not be so widely read or last so long, it will contribute more to the concerned theologian's or scientist's under-

standing of the issues involved in the conflict.

The one point at which the author seems to me to leave a serious gap, making for misinterpretation, is his almost total disregard of the constructive contributions of an evangelical liberalism. Account is taken of such cautious openness to the new science as is found in the thought of Charles Hodge, James McCosh and Henry Drummond. But there the story stops, to be resumed only with Barth, Tillich and Bultmann in the present. That such men as Borden P. Bowne, William Adams Brown, D. C. Macintosh and William Temple ever lived and constructively influenced Christian thought would not be guessed from this presentation. Although there is a brief treatment of the special task of Protestant liberalism as centering in its defense of man's spiritual supremacy over nature, most of the references to liberalism are disparaging. The only

American liberal that I find mentioned with any commendation is Harry Emerson Fosdick, and he with a sort of "left-handed compliment." Speaking of the heresy charges brought against Charles A. Briggs in the nineteenth century and Fosdick in the twentieth, the author says, "Fosdick's later views are of course quite different than those of the period under discussion. Today, one would want to defend the right of Briggs and of Fosdick in his earlier period to hold these views; but one does not need to read far to see how much Briggs and Fosdick, in his earlier days, diluted the Christian substance" (p. 233f.).

Certainly not everything in the liberalism of the early twentieth century is to be defended. But can its contributions in preserving Christian faith for many a thinking person, and over wide areas in a way that shifted the climate of opinion from biblical literalism to a more cordial relation between



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Christian faith and scientific knowledge, be so lightly dismissed? The author's position appears to be that of many younger theologians today who have entered into the heritage of liberalism without having had to fight its battles.

The last two chapters comprise an excellent analysis of the issues in today's encounter—or avoidance of encounter—between Christian faith and natural science. They show clearly why, from the theological side, interest in the issue has subsided. "The notion of the unity of all knowledge and truth has become subsidiary to the proper demarcation and integrity of each discipline" (p. 256). Biblical theology has replaced natural theology. Barth with his complete rejection of natural theology regards the world of science as irrelevant to the biblical message of either creation or redemption. Tillich with his concern to enable modern man to find a Christian answer to his existential questions might well make a place for the issues posed by natural science but he has actually given far more attention to culture, depth psychology and the arts. Bultmann with his demythologizing of the biblical world view leaves science free to say anything it chooses about the cosmos. Reinhold Niebuhr is greatly concerned about society but not about the natural order. For all these major theologians, "the scientific enterprise, apart from its implications for the social scene, has not come into purview. There is a sigh of relief that the old problems no longer exist and that scientific dogmatism has been overcome" (p. 269).

But have the problems disappeared? Diltenberger believes not. He is concerned that Christian thought should neither be indifferent to the new fluidity in scientific method and concepts nor jump with too great alacrity to defend free will and divine providence by way of the quantum theory and the Heisenberg principle of indeterminacy. "It is extremely perilous to inject theological biases into the problems of indeterminacy and into

the apparent void created by the abandonment of the older notions of rigid causation. Nor is such a procedure theologically fruitful; it is frankly inappropriate to speak of God in that way" (p. 285). In this judgment I concur. God and his ways with nature and with men need no defense by the new physics, though all that this or any other science can do to enlarge man's knowledge of God's world ought gratefully to be welcomed.

GEORGIA HARKNESS

Pacific School of Religion

Hebrew Thought Compared with Greek. By THORLIEF BOMAN. Translated by Jules L. Moreau. Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1960. 224 pages. \$4.50.

This well-translated book will take a prominent place among works in its field, not because it is easy reading—so meaty a book requires careful attention—but because it deals in a fresh, thorough, and instructive way with basic problems of biblical, philosophical, and theological study.

The aim of the author is to compare and understand Hebrew thinking, as expressed in the Old Testament, with the Greek thinkers. Aristotle is the latest Greek thinker discussed and major attention is given to Plato. It is noted that our own way of thinking generally follows Greek patterns, and accordingly the book defends Hebrew ways of thinking against our unconscious tendency to judge them by Greek standards. Boman does not reject the Greek heritage. He thinks of it as just as valid and permanently significant as the Hebrew heritage; we should keep and profit by both, and as far as possible work out a synthesis of the two.

A noteworthy feature of the book is its demonstration that a people's language embodies their thinking and mental outlook. Quoting Mueller, "There is a petrified philosophy in language," Boman adds that "the

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idiosyncrasy of a nation or family of nations, a race, finds expression in the language peculiar to them" (pp. 24, 27). The analysis of language which demonstrates the truth of these statements will be fully clear only to those who can follow the discussion of Hebrew and Greek words, but the essential position, I think, can be grasped without such linguistic ability. The general conclusion is that the Hebrews thought in dynamic and auditive categories, while the Greeks used rather static and visual ways of grasping and presenting truth. On p. 27 Boman finds fault with the word "static" as a description of the Greek way of thinking, and prefers "harmonic" or "resting"; but he thinks it practically impossible to avoid the use of "static" to describe Greek thought as contrasted with Hebrew.)

Having stated the problem, the author deals with it through the exploration of five areas: 1. Dynamic and Static Thinking. A study of Hebrew verbs shows that their basic meaning is always that of a movement or activity; motionless and fixed being does not exist for the Hebrew; only movement has reality (p. 31). Even the so-called "stative" verbs speak of an action of the subject proceeding from within. For the Israelite, being was something living, active, and effective. In Greek thinking, being refers rather to harmony and rest. 2. Impression and Appearance. The Hebrews were not interested in landscapes, form, color, photographic appearance, but in the use, function, and effective qualities of things. They could therefore use images which, regarded visually, would be in conflict; the Hebrew interest was in the use and properties of the things mentioned. The entire question of anthropomorphisms receives new light from this viewpoint; references to the members of God's "body," for example, are not crude and primitive expressions, but express the ways of his dynamic action. 3. Time and Space (sixty pages). The Greeks used space as their basic thought-form, the Hebrews used time. Bo-

man objects to the idea that the Hebrews conceived of time as a line; time is neither linear nor cyclic, but rather progresses in rhythms. "We Europeans must learn to regard events as facts that are and abide. . . . Significant historical events remain indestructible facts in the life of a people" (p. 138). Consciousness holds all such events as a unity. Another way that the sequence of events is transcended is through what Kierkegaard called "contemporaneity," a consciousness of actually being "there" with figures of an earlier day. 4. Symbolism and Instrumentalism. The external things that our senses perceive were to the Greek—interested as he was in knowledge—signs or symbols; to the Hebrew, concerned with activity, they were instruments or implements (p. 186). 5. Logical Thinking and Psychological Understanding. These "are not only different in kind, but they have different segments of reality as their *specific* fields of inquiry" (p. 194). Boman objects to saying that the Israelites' thinking was "primitive" and "prelogical." It was a different method of thinking, but it was profound and meaningful; it was "profoundest existential thinking" (p. 196).

A book so vigorous and comprehensive inevitably raises questions. To me, one question is whether the sense of duration and succession receives full recognition in the author's discussion of time. Another problem is whether, if Hebrew and Greek ways of thinking do differ so much, we can really say that they are complementary and that we must keep both and try to combine them. Even if we should find a way to bring the two viewpoints together, the question would still be raised concerning which one of the two is to be decisive or dominant. Consider, for example, the question of history. Which approach is more persuasive, the "scientific" method of the Greek heritage, where history is understood in terms of natural science, or the religious and existential method of the Hebrew thinkers, for whom history is the

story of God's dealings with his people? If the latter view is correct, as I believe it is, it would seem to deserve a dominant place.

FLOYD V. FILSON

McCormick Theological Seminary

A Living Sacrifice: A Study of Reparation.

By E. L. KENDALL. Library of History and Doctrine. Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1961, 174 pages. \$4.00.

The reason for this study of the nature of reparation is the author's belief "that the word 'Reparation' deserves a wide currency in the Christian vocabulary of the present age, and is indispensable for a full and fruitful understanding of the meaning of the Atonement to the theologian, the apologist and the ordinary devout Christian alike" (p. 9). Kendall's primary purposes are (1) the examination of reparation as a theological concept grounded in the fundamental biblical doctrines of the love of God, the redemption wrought by Christ, and the church as the Body of Christ, and (2) the unfolding of the meaning of reparation as a Christian activity involving the Christian life in its totality. These two purposes are kept clearly in the forefront of the study and are carefully worked out both separately and in their interrelationships.

An examination of the classical and Christian uses of the Latin words *reparatio* and *reparare* and of the Christian uses of the Greek *antimisthia* yields the three main connotations of restoration, restitution, and compensation. These ideas are not mutually exclusive but complementary. All of them are needed if we are to have a balanced and fruitful doctrine of reparation.

Reparation is understood as essentially positive and creative both from the side of God and from the side of man. Although the idea of propitiation is important in biblical thought and cannot be excluded from the concept of reparation, the redemptive activity of Christ through his life, death, and resur-

rection and through his Body, the church, means basically the loving work of restoring, repairing, and healing the defaced image of God in man. Correspondingly, reparation is an authentic Christian activity when it springs from the motive of gratitude (recompense) and not from motives of fear and appeasement.

The author is in accord with main currents of thought about the church when she insists that Christianity is never solitary but involves communal participation through the sacraments and corporate worship. It is in and through the church that Christ's work of reparation is made available to man; all Christian activities of reparation are to be carried out in and through the sphere of the church. Such emphasis on the church, important as it is, carries at least two attendant dangers. One is that of limiting the work of divine grace or Christ's work of reparation to the sphere of the church. The author appears to have succumbed to this danger when she makes such a claim as this: "After his Resurrection and Ascension the Church on earth became the instrument by which all men might be drawn to Christ and saved by him within the fellowship of the Christian Church. Of his own choice and decision, from the Ascension till the Second Coming, Christ made himself dependent, for the work of redemption and reparation, upon his Church, that is, upon the living members of his Body" (p. 54). Does such self-imposed dependence mean that Christ does not and, therefore, cannot be at work redemptively and reparatively outside the church? Again, while it is true that only within the church is Christ acknowledged as Lord, is the lordship of Christ, his reign between the Ascension and the Second Coming, actually limited to the sphere of the church? Does it not extend over the whole of creation?

A second danger is that of "institutionalizing" the life and reparative activities of the Christian. For example, the three main points discussed in the chapter on "Repara-

tion and Personal Sanctification" are martyrdom and the sacraments of baptism and penance. Further, in the chapter on "Reparation in Practical Christian Living" the examples are drawn almost exclusively from life in various religious orders and communities. What has happened to the "ordinary devout Christian" to whom the author refers in the Preface? What help has he been offered in making truly reparative his activities in the home, at work, and in the community?

REESE E. GRIFFIN

Wofford College

RELIGION IN AMERICA

American Christianity: An Historical Interpretation with Representative Documents, Vol. I (1607-1820). By H. SHELTON SMITH, ROBERT T. HANDY and LEFFERTS A. LOETSCHER. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1960. xv + 615 pages. \$10.00.

This is the most important book in American Christianity that has yet been published. It will probably remain the most significant volume for any serious study in the field for a generation.

A factor equal in importance to the fine caliber of the authors is the scope and plan of the study. Three-fourths of the volume is made up of numerous basic documents from 1607 to 1820. Large segments, rather than brief snippets, have been chosen, and every attempt has been made to represent the essential thought of each writer. The documents are arranged according to basic periods and dominant cultural trends. Each period is then introduced by an extensive and well-documented orientative and interpretive essay. In addition, each document bears an interpretive introduction. At the close of each section an annotated bibliography is included for additional study. Thus, about one-fourth of the volume is composed of interpretive material.

Anyone who works in this field knows

how difficult it is to bring together in one manageable volume an adequate collection of extensive early primary sources. Not since Peter G. Mode's *Sourcebook and Bibliographical Guide for American Church History* (1921) has the attempt been made, other than on a regional or denominational level. And within the last two decades considerable new material has been discovered. The problem of choice among the copious and valuable Puritan tomes, for example, and among the extensive regional materials for the early nineteenth century points to the anguish which the present editors must have suffered. In light of this difficulty the editors are to be praised for their discrimination and perception. We may single out their inclusion of the moving letter of Bishop Gabriel of Cuba about Florida in 1676; the vivid description of the torture of Father Isaac Jogues by Indians, almost too excruciating to read; the Dales Laws in Virginia which turned out to be as repressive as anything the Puritans devised in Boston; the Mayflower Compact; Anne Hutchinson's "ready wit and bold spirit" as she describes her theological difficulties; the laws of Maryland which promised death for denying the deity of Christ; the *Jeremiad* as the distinctive literary and theological form of sermon during a time of "spiritual drought"; a memorable treatise by the greatest Puritan of them all, Jonathan Edwards; and the lively document describing the Shakers, the largest and most significant of the communal groups.

There is a two-sided and regrettable fault in this otherwise notable volume: an inadequate treatment of Roman Catholic work, and a provincial viewpoint towards the West. This dual limitation entails the omission of four remarkable missionary priests of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries: (1) Eusebio (Maynard spells it Eusebius) Kino, the second Catholic to begin work in what is now Arizona in 1687. In 1936 Herbert E. Bolton did a definitive biography of Kino entitled *The Rim of Christendom*

(Macmillan). (2) Junipero Serra, a former Professor of Philosophy at Lullian University on the Island of Majorca, who was commissioned by Galvez, the Visitor-General of Spain, to initiate the chain of Franciscan Missions in Upper California. Father Maynard Geiger has now given us a valuable two-volume biography of Serra. (3) Fray Francisco Palou, the trusted friend and colleague of Serra, a writer of considerable ability whose life of Serra was, until Geiger's study, the most satisfactory available. (4) Fermin Lausen, another contemporary of Serra, who took over the leadership of the California missions after Serra's death and who established numerous missions himself. Charles F. Chapman in *The Catholic Historical Review*, V (1919), 131-155, has a brilliant account of Lausen's significance.

Apart from this single blemish, *American Christianity* deserves all possible accolades for its meticulous scholarship. The annotated bibliographies at the end of each section are superb gold mines of references to literary and secular historical sources as well as to the standard theological journals. Twenty-four handsome pictures, exceptional typography, and a readable format all add up to a volume which combines erudition with pleasurable reading. It is good news that Volume II (from 1820 to the present) is promised in 1961.

HARLAND E. HOGUE

Pacific School of Religion

History of Religion in the United States. By CLIFTON E. OLMSTEAD. Englewood Cliffs, N. J.: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1960. xii + 628 pages. \$7.50.

At long last the American academic world is recognizing that the study of American religion is not only important to the churches but imperative to the thoughtful person who seeks to understand American culture. A long-needed volume dealing with this history in both authentic and relevant terms has been written by the executive officer of the

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Department of Religion at George Washington University.

The author has attempted to bring to focus the enormous amount of scholarly monographs, regional studies, and theological works that has appeared within the last few decades. He sets the findings of all this material within the sweep of intellectual, political, economic and social history. He is eager to give American theology significance within the historical context. He has sought to provide a textbook for undergraduate and graduate students alike that brings together the varied cultural factors that have contributed to American religion.

At many points the student of American religion will be excited and grateful for Olmstead's very thorough and often lively work. American Protestant writers tend to minimize Roman Catholic contributions to our culture and it is therefore heartening to see Olmstead's appreciative handling of the early Catholic missions, subsequent Catholic growth, and important Catholic contributions to Christian thought. Also, while the small and colorful sects are difficult to handle because of their own lack of objectivity about themselves, yet here is a sympathetic although by no means uncritical appraisal. No one of the denominations or smaller groups in the complicated American scene is neglected.

Perhaps the most commendable feature of the volume is its theological perception. Among others, such men as Jonathan Edwards, Walter Rauschenbusch, Paul Tillich and Reinhold Niebuhr are handled with remarkable clarity. In brief vignettes major facets of each man's viewpoint are given. As to Niebuhr's ethical position, for example, Olmstead writes:

... Niebuhr reached the conclusion that Jesus' ethic was one which demanded perfection and was therefore impossible of attainment. Instead, it stood in judgment over every ethical situation and summoned the Christian to recognize his moral inadequacy and seek forgiveness. Niebuhr's concept

stood between the pessimism of Barthianism which saw the Kingdom of God only as a future hope and the unqualified optimism of American liberalism which confused the Kingdom with human progress (p. 575).

On the other hand, the teacher who wishes to use this text for an introduction to American religion will become aware of several regrettable limitations. There is an unfortunate lack of attention to the important American Jewish heritage both in the text and in suggested bibliography. The elaboration of factual detail is overdone in places and may discourage the undergraduate looking for major issues. Denominations rather than theological and general ecclesiastical trends comprise the major emphasis of the book. The American intellectual historians who actually pioneered in a serious consideration of the impact of theology upon our culture are ignored—men like James Bryce, Alexis de Tocqueville, Henry Steele Commager, Merle Curti and Ralph H. Gabriel. The relation between the fine arts and American religion, especially in such determinative areas as hymnody and architecture, is omitted. The bibliography consistently stresses secondary works rather than primary sources. Perhaps it is inevitable that in such a detailed volume numerous errors of historical fact have escaped attention.

With these limitations, however, Olmstead's work is the best yet available. Its solid virtues far outweigh its limitations. The publisher is to be congratulated on the attractive format and the excellent quality paper. A few illustrations in a future revision would enhance the readability of the volume.

HARLAND E. HOGUE

Pacific School of Religion

CHRISTIAN COMMUNICATION

The Christian as Communicator. By HARRY A. DEWIRE. Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1961. 198 pages. \$4.50.

Reading this book may be compared to mining for coal. Some excellent veins of ma-

terial lie near the surface and are readily accessible to strip mining. But elsewhere the real substance is deeply buried beneath mounds of shale or other material and must be mined with patience and considerable expenditure of time.

DeWire has given us some solid pockets of hard anthracite—fuel that burns long and warm within the mind and spirit. His insistence on communication as the encounter of person with person belongs in this category. Far too often theologians have treated communication as a “one-way” proclamation of content. The author reminds us that genuine communication is a reciprocal activity between two persons. He shows an understanding of communication that is increasingly confirmed by modern communications research and the social sciences. The teacher learns from his pupils as well as teaching them. The minister is ministered unto by his people. By implication, the Christian must be open to learn from the non-Christian or he cannot have genuine communication with him.

Perhaps the richest bed of anthracite in DeWire's book is his discussion of the role of love in communication. He posits that “the Christian reaches his highest and most meaningful performance when he engages in the act of loving . . . and wherever a Christian extends his life in terms of a loving act, it is then that the gospel of Christ is being proclaimed.” Acceptance of the other person and willingness to bear the burden of love are very crucial for true communication. DeWire relates this discussion of the loving act to God's communication with man through the loving act of the Incarnation. For the author, the Incarnation is the “very foundation of Christian communication.”

Another very fine vein of material is found in DeWire's treatment of levels of listening. Listening is the first step, the “opening gesture” in establishing communication with another person. We often listen very poorly, even negatively, and thereby reject the

speaker. The Christian must learn to listen completely, not only hearing the words being spoken but sensing what is being said at the level of feelings as well. An important part of this act of Christian listening is the ability to accept hostility, criticism, even slander in order to establish a relationship of love.

A further point at which the author's insights have the hard, bright appearance of anthracite is his discussion of silence as one of the most powerful forms of communication. In his words, “silence calls out nuances of understanding and appreciation for which no words can be found.” Unfortunately, this vein is exhausted after one solid paragraph.

In contrast to the anthracite veins, we find pockets of lignite—that softer fuel which tends to crumble when exposed to the air. One of these soft spots is the disappointing discussion of communication and personality dynamics. DeWire does not begin to plumb the depths of this potentially rich field, an

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area where the most fundamental problems of communication actually begin and end.

Again, the writer does not deal adequately with the relation between communication and authority—a problem which lies at the heart of the church's estrangement from the world. He does speak of the distance between the professional communicator of the Christian faith and the layman. He does make the claim that the Christian layman is a theologian in the highest sense: "He may not qualify as a practitioner of the things *about* God, but he need make no apology for being a practitioner of the things *of* God. As a witness, he engages in the one form of interpretation that, above all other forms, will bring redemption to our society. . . ." But DeWire then seems to contradict himself when he says emphatically that the church does not need to "revise its authority downward." Neither the author nor the church at large has begun to take seriously this problem of clerical authority and churchly authority as it obstructs communication with modern man.

Further, DeWire's discussion of the problem of religious language as an obstacle to communication is not satisfactory. While admitting the problem, he justifies the continued use of a particular terminology: "Something as great as love needs many five-syllable words to do it justice."

Finally, there are some veins which the author has not mined at all. He does not deal in this book with the very important area of small, primary groups as they relate to communication. His bibliography reflects a very meager grounding in the fertile field of communications research and theory—a lack one feels throughout the book. The reader ends the study with a realization that there is a great deal more below the surface in relation to this subject than has yet been brought to the light of day.

CLYDE H. REID

Union Theological Seminary

SPIRITUAL HEALING

The Healing Ministry in the Church. By BERNARD MARTIN. Richmond: John Knox Press, 1961. 125 pages. \$3.00.

Pastor Bernard Martin, of the Reformed Church in Geneva, believes that divine healing is a task for the whole church as the Body of Christ and not merely for those endowed with special gifts. The purpose of this study is to outline some aspects of divine healing and to show how such healing can be undertaken by the church. An introduction and a table of the healings recorded in the Gospels and in Acts precede the main body of the work, which is divided into two parts.

In Part One, entitled "The Healing Ministry in the New Testament," the author analyzes the healings performed by Jesus and his disciples. He regards this aspect of the ministry of Jesus as an integral part of the latter's work of salvation in which redemption of the soul and health of the body are united in a double manifestation of the love of God. Next an attempt is made to formulate a New Testament doctrine of healing. Here sickness is interpreted as the work of Satan and as originating in sin, although this general connection does not mean that every sickness is the result of a particular sin. But liberation from sickness is a sign of liberation from sin. "Healing is not an aim in itself. It has no other aim but the glorification of God" (p. 42).

The author's treatment is generally marked by a non-critical acceptance of the New Testament narratives of healing. While he recognizes the diversity of the methods followed by Jesus and the presence of compassion in all of the healings, he does not seem to be fully aware of the contrast between the Synoptic and Johannine conceptions of the purpose of miracles. This results in a somewhat inconsistent account of the motives of Jesus in healing the sick. Thus, the author declares that "when Jesus,

for example, heals the sick, he does not do so to attract attention to Himself or to arouse a feeling of astonished veneration in others but rather to focus attention on a certain aspect of salvation by way of demonstration" (p. 9). Yet, on reading further in the book, one finds the statement that Jesus "often makes use of those demonstrations of power to draw attention to Himself and prove in this manner the divine origin of His work of redemption" (pp. 19-20).

Part Two is concerned with "The Healing Ministry in the Church Today." There are chapters dealing with the relation of divine healing to medical science, to faith, and to prayer. Other topics discussed are sin and sickness, the value of sickness, the sacraments and signs of healing, and the problem of healing failures. The work ends with a short discussion of the practical restoration of the healing ministry and a brief concluding note to ministers. There are many valuable and constructive insights in this portion of the book, although here and

there this reviewer found statements which impressed him as questionable, e.g., "It is because man in general is a sinner that the individual is exposed to sickness" (p. 54).

The authenticity of Mark 16:17-18 is apparently assumed in three places in the book (pp. 12, 30-31, 97), although the author notes that "even if a study of the text were to lead one to think that the laying on of hands is not a command expressly given by Jesus," the disciples "did not doubt that in following such a practice they were obedient to the command given them" (p. 97).

This study is helpful, has much to commend it, and represents a needed emphasis, but its value would have been enhanced by a more critical approach to the New Testament narratives and to the healing miracles. Also, the attempt to deal with a large and complex subject in a work of comparatively brief compass leads to some oversimplification.

JAMES C. PERKINS

Huston-Tillotson College

Displayed Religion

BE CAREFUL not to make a show of your religion before men; if you do, no reward awaits you in your Father's house in heaven.

Thus, when you do some act of charity, do not announce it with a flourish of trumpets, as the hypocrites do in synagogue and in the streets to win admiration from men. I tell you this: they have their reward already. No; when you do some act of charity, do not let your left hand know what your right is doing; your good deed must be secret, and your Father who sees what is done in secret will reward you.

Again, when you pray, do not be like the hypocrites; they love to say their prayers standing up in synagogue and at the street corners, for everyone to see them. I tell you this: they have their reward already. But when you pray, go into a room by yourself, shut the door, and pray to your Father who is there in the secret place; and your Father who sees what is secret will reward you.

In your prayers do not go babbling on like the heathen, who imagine that the more they say the more likely they are to be heard. Do not imitate them. Your Father knows what your needs are before you ask him.

—Matthew 6:1-8, *The New English Bible: New Testament*, Oxford and Cambridge University Presses, 1961.

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Books Received

(Books marked with an asterisk are hereby acknowledged. Others either are reviewed in this issue or will be reviewed in subsequent issues of the *Journal*.)

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Communications

A Suggestion

EDITOR, JBR

SIR: Your editorial entitled "Our Public Image" (April, 1961) wisely raises the root question about the meaning and substance of the NABI as a professional society. Our academic institutions make periodic self-study efforts. I think that the NABI has never had any such movement. Our elected leaders are often too busy and too briefly in office to promote self-criticism. I have always felt that our membership is far short in its possibilities in spite of the good efforts of membership chairmen. How can we generate some individual responsibility for any increase? Each one reach one? Prob-

ably our members are not looking for more work but no organization thrives without devoted efforts by some members. Why not apply the point of your editorial to some actuality in effort? Let the Executive Council consider the appointment by the President of a self-study committee, designed also to double our membership. We cannot employ some national advertisers from Madison Avenue but we can do some careful critical thinking about the NABI and aim to enlist a truly national membership.

DWIGHT M. BECK

Syracuse University, Emeritus

A Protest

EDITOR, JBR

SIR: I should like to protest the tart and *Timely* review of my book, *Build on the Rock: You and the Sermon on the Mount*, in the April issue of the *Journal* by Royce Gordon Gruenler of Hiram College. In my judgment, it is both dishonest and unprofessional.

1. It is dishonest to say that in the book "footnotes are at a minimum" and to suggest that this follows from the author's conviction that "the Sermon on the Mount demands some levity." There are, in fact, 376 footnotes. In a book of 174 pages of text, that is at least par for the course. What the book actually says is this: "Textual and translation problems have been confined to footnotes. Specialists, clergymen, and college students will want to refer to them. They will not, however, cause eye-strain or ulcers for the general reader" (p. 5). This is a far cry from saying that footnotes are kept at a minimum.

It is dishonest to state that the author is "apparently persuaded that the Sermon on the Mount demands some levity." It does not demand it. At points, it illustrates it! How could any discerning reader of the Sermon on the Mount deny that it is "chockfull of pointed parables, graphic illustrations, pithy sayings, and humorous hyperbole"? He who does not find "humorous hyperbole" (as well as a pricked conscience) in the log-speck story must be devoid of a sense of humor.

It is dishonest to lift quotations out of context and distort their meaning. "Royal Squares," states the reviewer, is the name for "Christians who do not conform to dubious social standards." As used in the book, "Royal Squares" is an enviable title accorded those who are persecuted for their principles. They are "Royal" because they belong to that

blessed company of prophets who have gone before them.

2. It is unprofessional because it fails utterly to tell anything about the substance of the book or its serious nature. How many chapters does the book have? How is it organized? How are the Beatitudes handled? What is the nature of the Sermon's ethic? What is the author's approach to eschatology? Nowhere does Gruenler treat these and other subjects that might normally be expected to interest discerning readers of the *Journal*. He skips the substance, ignores the serious, and tees off on style. That style should be discussed is obvious. (Perhaps it should be noted that a good many knowledgeable reviewers do not happen to share Gruenler's viewpoint. But every reviewer has a right to disagree, especially when he disagrees agreeably.) But to devote a review exclusively to matters of style, it seems to me, is a prostitution of a reviewer's privilege.

At this point it might be well to call to the attention of the readers of the *Journal* the considered judgment of some widely-respected and well-informed experts relative to the worth of *Build on the Rock*:

The writing is informed: informed about the Bible and biblical theology, informed about men's problems—and informed about the attention span of men who are willing to read about their problems and about the biblical reflection on them. The book is much more spirited than most such scholarship manages to be. And the book is a good deal more scholarly than such very spirited writing almost ever is.

President Theodore A. Gill
San Francisco Theological Seminary

An excellent, new, and refreshing approach to the Sermon on the Mount, written in a language that thoughtful laymen can easily understand. In brief chapters, in pithy, sharp-edged sentences, the greatest sermon ever preached is made relevant for today. One finishes the book with the deep conviction that this is indeed life built on the rock.

President Herbert Gezork
Andover Newton Theological School

From the first page, this book gets a hold on life. Its interpretations and applications are practical and powerful. As a college teacher, the author has captured a youthful freshness of explanation; as a scholar, he has geared his writing to life in its complex aspects. It is a hard book to put down.

Dr. Louis H. Evans, Minister-at-Large
Board of National Missions
United Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A.

It is thrilling to find this fresh treatment of the Sermon on the Mount. The table of contents at once intrigues the interest of the lay reader and suggests scores of sermons to the preacher. The style is arresting, the content is convincing, the pages are strewn with quotable sentences. . . . He uses striking illustrations, yet not too many. He employs expressive terms, as for instance, "our sexual age," yet his writing avoids the impression of cleverness or smartness.

Dr. Ralph W. Sockman, Minister
Christ Church, Methodist, New York

Build on the Rock is the most fascinating treatment of the Sermon on the Mount that I have seen. . . . It is scholarly, Biblical, enjoyable and understandable for persons in every walk of life.

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It isn't often that books which devote scholarly gifts to Biblical matters can be said to appeal to laymen as well as clergy. This volume is a pleasant exception. Well done, popular, and yet rewarding to the student.

The Wartburg Press

These reviews, and I have listed only a few representative ones, come from weighty people and from different theological and geographical and denominational centers. I will leave it to the readers of the *Journal* to decide whether they support Gruenler's evaluation of *Build on the Rock*: "The book would seem to draw a Trendex rating somewhat lower than the average volume directed to the layman."

C. MILO CONNICK

Whittier College

A Response

EDITOR, *JBR*

SIR: Mr. Connick has written a very interesting letter. It does tend to raise havoc with his summary list of thirty-five "Characteristics of a Christian" (pp. 172-74), and he might have done well to refer to it before taking pen in hand. It contains some good advice. One who lives the Sermon on the Mount "experiences hardship, persecution, and suffering in the line of duty for God" (#8), "judges others lovingly, himself severely" (#30), and "knows that the way to the Kingdom is rough going" (#33).

As far as the footnotes are concerned, there are actually more than enough for the size and quality of the book. I inferred from the Preface that the author meant to keep them at a minimum, since he claims to copy the style of Jesus (who used very few footnotes) and tries to avoid technical terms, so that one "can read the body of the book without an unabridged dictionary at his elbow." "The treatment," he says, "is popular, not pedantic; scholarly, not scholastic; reasonably exhaustive, not exhausting" (p. 5). I never meant to infer that he had too few footnotes; 376 of them in a book of 174 pages of text is certainly par for the course when one is writing in a popular vein.

But footnotes are supposed to serve a scholarly interest. Dropping a footnote (in the back of the book at that) simply to make an irrelevant and off-color remark about a harem (pp. 39, 176) is hardly in the interest of good scholarship. Much of the book is not a credit to the profession. There is a proliferation of lighthearted references, from the pure who are "effectively deodorized" (p. 39), to the three traditional monkeys whose behavior, the author says, Jesus would probably have dubbed "monkey business" (p. 40). We even read of the anxious girl "who is as popular at a party as a snake at a sewing circle. . . . Worry will put

wrinkles on her face but it won't put boys at her side" (p. 135). Incredible.

This is not just a teeing off on style. "Any similarity between the style of the Sermon and that of this book is deliberate and premeditated," the author says (p. 5). It is a matter of an entire approach to biblical interpretation. Would Jesus employ such wise-crackery in teaching and healing our generation? Interested readers of the *Journal* may wish to get hold of a copy of the book and decide for themselves, comparing their notes with the review excerpts from the bookjacket. As for the "tart and *Timely*" character of the review, the only sentence I can find that qualifies is the final "Trendex rating" line, and I found inspiration for that in the first line of chapter six, entitled "Merciful Heaven!," which runs: "Mercy had a low Trendex rating in the first century" (p. 34). I also thought I caught the sense of "Royal Squares," the title of chapter nine, which has to do with those who are persecuted for righteousness' sake. The author thinks it is an enviable title, and he can call himself a square if he wishes; but I would object to carrying this too far. For instance, I would prefer the older title of Foxe's *Book of Royal Squares*.

In the first and last paragraphs of the review I gave the author credit for the valuable sections of the book. He weaves the Sermon around an eschatology which he describes as a possession and a promise. This is good interpretation, and where he is not trying to be funny he has something to say. I hope he will try to rework the manuscript for a second edition. But in its present form the book grossly misrepresents Jesus' style and would serve well as a textbook on how the scholar and preacher ought *not* to interpret the New Testament.

ROYCE GORDON GRUENLER

Hiram College

The Association

ANNUAL MEETING OF THE SOUTHERN SECTION (1961)

The Southern Section of the National Association of Biblical Instructors held its thirteenth annual meeting at the Interdenominational Theological Center in Atlanta, Georgia, on Monday, March 20, 1961, with some sixty members in attendance.

Opening devotions were led by Jack P. Lewis, of Harding College. President Harry V. Richardson of the Interdenominational Theological Center welcomed the group and Mary Boney of Agnes Scott College, Vice-President, introduced the program. The Presidential Address by Everett Tilson of the Methodist Theological School in Ohio was entitled "The Relation of a Faculty of Theology to the Church."

There followed a panel discussion on the topic, "The Department of Religion and Its Relation to Other Disciplines," with Lauren E. Brubaker, University of South Carolina, as Moderator. Participants and their respective subjects were: David W. Sprunt, Washington and Lee University—Philosophy (because of Mr. Sprunt's illness his paper was read by Louis W. Hodges); Thomas J. Pugh, Interdenominational Theological Center—Psychology; Maxine Garner, Sweet Briar College—Sociology; and Leslie Bullock, St. Andrews Presbyterian College—Education.

In the morning business session, conducted by President Tilson, the minutes of the 1960 meeting were approved as printed in the July, 1960 issue of *The Journal of Bible and Religion*. Samuel Maloney, Chairman of the Membership Committee, reported the addition of between fifty and sixty new members, with the Southern Section showing a higher rate of increase than any other section. Announcement was made of the December, 1961 National Meeting to be held at Concordia Theological Seminary, Saint Louis. As the Southern Humanities Conference had not met, there was no report from the delegate, Emmett W. Hamrick. Mr. Hamrick reported on the forthcoming Lilly Endowment Study of Pre-Seminary Education.

The following committees were appointed:

- a. Nominations: Merritt Branch, Chairman, W. Gordon Ross, and Emmett W. Hamrick.
- b. Resolutions: David E. Faust, Richard T. Mead, and G. J. Griffin (Joint Committee of NABI and SBLE).
- c. Time and place of next meeting: Secretaries of NABI and SBLE.

After lunch in the refectory of Interdenominational Theological Center, President Tilson convened the afternoon business session. The following officers for 1961-1962 were elected: President, Mary Boney, Agnes Scott College; Vice-President, W. Gordon Ross, Berea College; Secretary, Margaret Cubine, Erskine College. President Boney presided over the remainder of the afternoon meeting. At this time the place and date of the next meeting remained undecided, but before the adjournment of SBLE it was announced that the two societies would accept the invitation of Guilford College for the dates of March 26-27, 1962.

The remainder of the program for the afternoon consisted of a symposium on "Teaching the Bible to Undergraduates," with William A. Beardslee, Emory University, as Chairman. Participants and their respective subjects were: J. Floyd Moore, Guilford College, "The Approach to the Old Testament: Genesis or Judges?"; S. Vernon McCasland, University of Virginia, "Undergraduates and Biblical Criticism"; and Edward Holmes, Stetson University, "The Relation of Extra-Canonical Materials."

After dinner the Section met jointly with the Society of Biblical Literature and Exegesis and the American Schools of Oriental Research for an illustrated lecture, "Underwater Explorations at Caesarea," by Immanuel Ben-Dor, Emory University. The meeting then adjourned, with many members remaining for the SBLE sessions the following day.

MARGARET CUBINE, Secretary

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Marching Orders

FINALLY THEN, find your strength in the Lord, in his mighty power. Put on all the armour which God provides, so that you may be able to stand firm against the devices of the devil. For our fight is not against human foes, but against cosmic powers, against the authorities and potentates of this dark world, against the super-human forces of evil in the heavens. Therefore, take up God's armour; then you will be able to stand your ground when things are at their worst, to complete every task and still to stand. Stand firm, I say. Buckle on the belt of truth; for coat of mail put on integrity; let the shoes on your feet be the gospel of peace, to give you firm footing; and, with all these, take up the great shield of faith, with which you will be able to quench all the flaming arrows of the evil one. Take salvation for helmet; for sword, take that which the Spirit gives you—the words that come from God. Give yourselves wholly to prayer and entreaty; pray on every occasion in the power of the Spirit. To this end keep watch and persevere, always interceding for all God's people; and pray for me, that I may be granted the right words when I open my mouth, and may boldly and freely make known his hidden purpose, for which I am an ambassador—in chains. Pray that I may speak of it boldly, as it is my duty to speak.

—Ephesians 6:10-20, *The New English Bible*.

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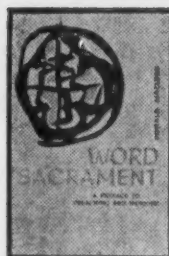
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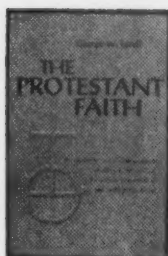
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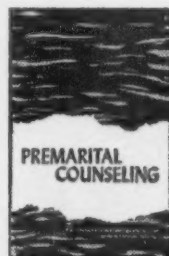
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